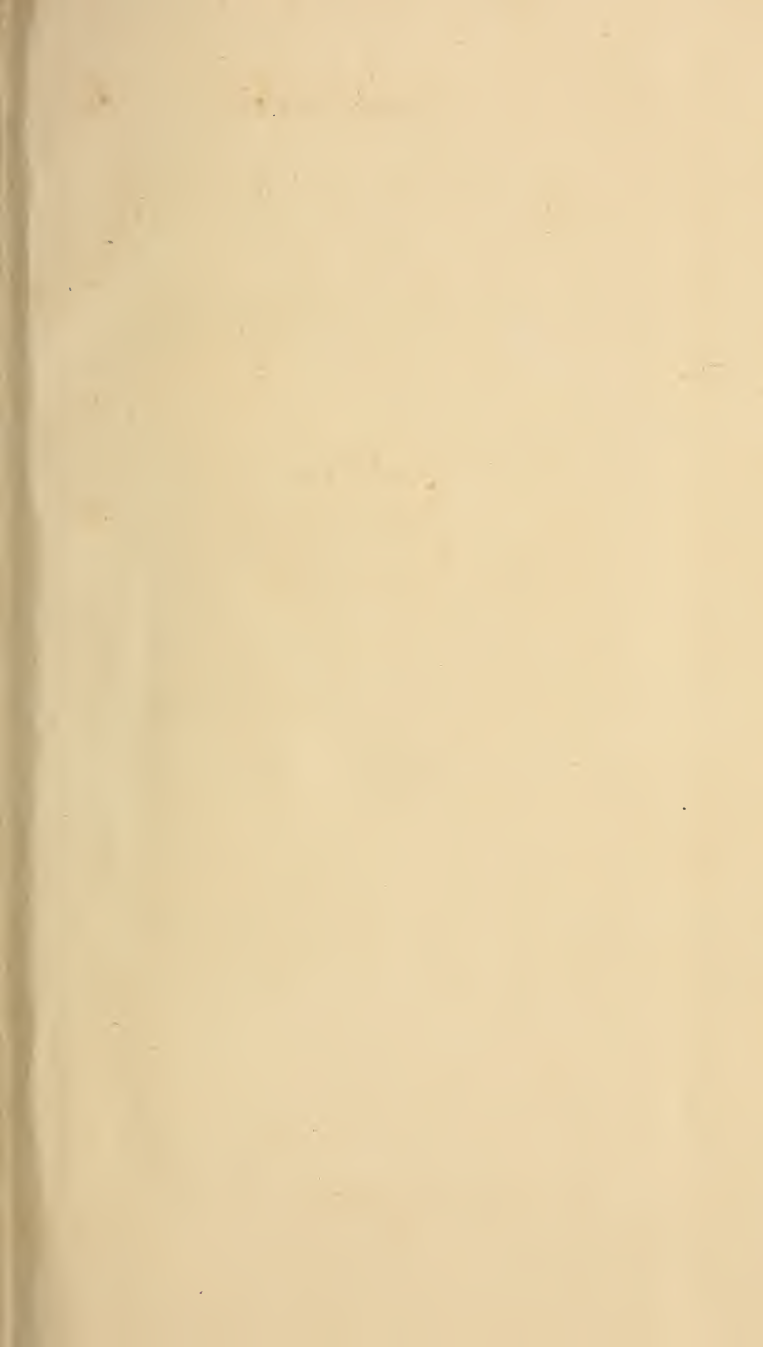




Class E 188

Book . C 77





THE
HISTORY
OF
NORTH AMERICA ;

CONTAINING

A Review of the Customs and Manners of the
original Inhabitants ; the first settlement
of the British Colonies ; and their
Rise and Progress, from the
earliest Period to the
Time of their

**BECOMING UNITED
FREE & INDEPENDENT STATES.**

—000—

BY THE REVEREND MR. COOPER.

—000—

To which is added,
AN APPENDIX,
Containing the Constitution of the United States,
the Declaration of Independence, and
Washington's Farewell Address.



ALBANY:

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL SHAW.

1818.



704

SAMUEL SHAW,


Bookseller and Bookbinder,

At his Bookstore in Washington-Street,

Has for Sale,

LARGE and small Bibles, Testaments, Prayer Books, Psalm Books, Hymn Books, Geographies, Histories, Novels, Romances, and a very general assortment of School Books, Chap Books, &c. &c.

Also, Writing, Letter and Wrapping Paper, Slates, Black Lead and Slate Pencils, Sealing Wax, Wafers, Quills, Ink, Ink-Powder, Ink-Stands, Sand Boxes, and most Articles in the Stationary Line.

 Old Books re-bound, and Blank Books ruled to any Pattern, in the neatest manner, and on the shortest notice.

CASH paid for Cotton and Linen RAGS.

Albany, May 1, 1818.

E 158

C 77

PREFACE.

FUTURE generations will view the American revolution as the most singular phenomenon which ever appeared in the political hemisphere of any nation. They will contemplate with astonishment, the daring resolution of a few colonists, scattered over a large extent of country, and in their very infancy, taking up arms, to resist the encroachments of tyrannic and oppressive laws, and bidding defiance to a country, then the acknowledged mistress of the ocean, great and renowned in arms, in commerce, and in the arts and sciences.

To review this subject, and to point out the gradual steps by which the American nation finally obtained her independence, and took her rank among the sovereign nations of the world ; to describe those terrible scenes of rapine, blood and slaughter, which accompanied her struggle for freedom, and which proved so fatal to thousands of brave men on both sides, and which cost the British nation more than two hundred millions of dollars, are the principal objects of the author in this work.

Besides a detail of these important events, an account is added of the customs and manners of the original inhabitants of North America ; the causes which first led to the settlement of the British American Colonies, and their rise and progress is traced and marked out, until they became a distinct, separate, and confederate nation, of *Thirteen United and Independent States*.

Facts are related with simplicity and brevity, and with a studied attention that nothing shall be set down which is not strictly true and correct in all its parts. Opinions are not hazarded, because

PREFACE.

they are no part of history, and because it is the design of the author, that every reader shall be left to his own judgment, unprejudiced and unbiassed by any thing that might fall from his pen.

Such, in a word, is the work now offered to the public—It is in truth but an outline ; but such as it is, the American reader, it is humbly presumed, will find himself amply compensated for the price he shall pay for this volume ; and will be enabled, at all times, to refer to the great and leading features in the American history, but more especially to those of the revolution ; and to mark the steps, gradual and difficult, by which the American people exchanged the character of dependent colonists, for that of a free and sovereign people ; and to contemplate, inspect and review, the character of those great and good men who took a conspicuous and leading part in the revolution ; and to view, as with a single glance, the high and noble character displayed by our fathers throughout the trying scenes of a sanguinary and bloody seven-years war, emphatically styled, the war of their independence.

The appendix is also peculiarly interesting to every citizen. The Constitution of our Country, the sacred palladium of our liberties, should be in every family. The Declaration of Independence is the text-book of liberty ; and the Farewell Address of General Washington, is an invaluable legacy from the Father of his Country to the American People.

CONTENTS.



CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION of the persons, manners and customs of the original inhabitants of North America.—Their dress, education and employments.—Their hospitality and resentments.—Liberty the darling passion of the original natives.—Feasts, on what occasions appointed.—Method of atoning for murder.—Mourning for their dead.—The feast of souls.—Method of preparing for war.—Miserable state of their prisoners. *Page 13.*

CHAPTER II.

Account of the first settlers of North America.—Settlement at New Plymouth.—The Puritans purchase and settle the Massachusetts Bay.—Connecticut and New-Haven colonies settled.—Providence and Rhode-Island, New-Hamp-

shire and the Maine, New-York, New-Jersey,
Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Pennsylvania,
Delaware and Georgia. - - - *Page 32.*

CHAPTER III.

Expedition against Louisburgh.—General Brad-
dock defeated.—Massachusetts assembly declare
against parliamentary taxes, the stamp act.—
Riots at Boston on account of that act.—The
stamp act repealed.—Mr. Charles Townsend's
bill for taxing the colonies afresh.—Troops or-
dered to Boston.—Soldiers at Boston fire on the
inhabitants.—East-India company empowered to
export their own Teas —Tea thrown into the
sea at Boston.—Measures pursued relative to the
Boston port bill.—Massachusetts people prepare
to defend their rights by arms.—Gage fortifies
the entrance into Boston.—Proceedings in the
British houses of Parliament.—Gen. Gage sends
troops to Salem.—He sends troops to Concord
and Lexington, who are defeated.—The re-
straining bills.—Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne
fail for Boston. - - - *Page 48.*

CHAPTER IV.

The expedition against Ticonderoga.—George Washington, Esquire, elected commander in chief of the continental forces. The battle at Breed's hill, commonly called Bunker's hill.—Georgia accedes to the union.—The Thirteen United Colonies.—The Asia man of war fires upon New-York.—Colonel Arnold's expedition into Canada.—Falmouth destroyed, and on what account.—Colonel Allen, an American officer, taken prisoner, and put in irons.—General Montgomery appears before Quebec and is killed in storming the city. - - - Page 69.

CHAPTER V.

General Howe evacuates Boston.—Norfolk in Virginia burnt.—Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis sail for America.—The blockade of Quebec continued.—The Americans retreat from before it.—A number of Highlanders and Col. Campbell taken at Boston.—Declaration of American Independence.—Gen. Howe lands the royal army on Long Island. - Page 90.

CHAPTER VI.

Wretched State of the American armies under Washington and Gates.—New-York taken by the English.—The battle of the White Plains.—A body of Hessians defeated at Trenton.—Gen. Howe removes his army from Staten Island.—Gen. Burgoyne proceeds to Crown Point.—Ticonderoga and Fort Independence evacuated by the Americans.—Description of the flag of the United States.—Battle at the Brandywine.—Philadelphia taken by the royal forces.—Account of Miss M'Rea's cruel death by the Indians.—Americans engage the British under General Burgoyne.—Distress and calamity of the royal army.—General Burgoyne baffled in all his designs, and reduced to the last extremity.—He signs the convention. - - *Page 111.*

CHAPTER VII.

Count Donop repulsed in the attack upon Red Bank.—Mud Island reduced by the British.—Congress receive the treaties concluded between

France and the United States.—The Randolph, an American frigate, blown up.—Sir Henry Clinton succeeds Gen. Howe in America.—The Marquis de la Fayette, with 2500 men, narrowly escapes being cut off by the British forces.—The treaties between France and the United States signed.—Lord North's conciliatory propositions.—Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, have a public audience at the French court.—The British army evacuates Philadelphia.—Skirmishes between the British and Americans. The British arrive at Sandy Hook.—Count d'Estaing's fleet anchors within the Hook.—Gov. Johnstone attempts to corrupt certain members of congress.—Dr. Franklin appointed minister at the court of France. - - - Page 132.

CHAPTER VIII.

The British operations against Georgia.—The affairs of the United States in a deplorable condition.—Gen. Lincoln sent to South Carolina.—Gen. Ashe surprised and defeated.—Sir Henry Clinton takes Stoney Point.—Count d'Estaing sails from the West-Indies for the American

coast.----The French and Americans repulsed at Savannah.----Distress of General Washington's army for want of bread.----Charleston taken by the British forces.-----Tarleton defeats Colonel Buford.-----A French fleet with troops arrive at Newport.---Treaty signed between Holland and America.-----Earl Cornwallis defeats General Gates.----Major Andre taken and executed as a spy.-----General Arnold takes refuge on board the Vulture sloop of war. - - Page 149.

CHAPTER IX.

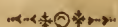
Sir Henry Clinton sends 3000 troops to the Bay of Chesapeake.----The French and Spanish fleets form a junction in the West-Indies.---Mr. Laurens taken on his passage to Holland.----Sir Joseph Yorke leaves the Hague.-----Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton detached after General Morgan, by whom he is defeated.---Lord Cornwallis attacks General Greene, and defeats him.---Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan take St. Eustatia, St. Martins, and Seba.-----The French troops join the Americans under General Washington.---Sir Samuel Hood and Count de

Grasse engage.----Lord Cornwallis repairs to Yorktown and Gloucester.---Is besieged by the allied army.----A capitulation settled, and Lord Cornwallis surrenders the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester.-----The British fleet and army, destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, arrive off the Chesapeake after his surrender, and learning his fate return to New-York.---Count de Grasse sails for the West Indies. *Page 173.*

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Laurens discharged from his confinement in the tower of London.-----Sir George Rodney comes up with Count de Grasse in the West-Indies.---They engage.---Count de Grasse is defeated and taken.----The necessity of peace for the United States of America.---Savannah evacuated by the British forces.---Charleston also evacuated.----Provisional articles of peace signed between the British and American Commissioners.---The definitive treaty of peace, signed between the English, French, Spanish and Americans. - - - - - *Page 187.*

APPENDIX.



Constitution of the United States.	-	<i>Page</i> 201
Declaration of Independence.	- - - -	233
President Washington's Farewell Address.		241

THE
HISTORY
OF
NORTH AMERICA.



CHAPTER I.

BEFORE we proceed to describe what America is at present, or by what means she became independent of the mother country, it cannot be disagreeable to our readers, to be informed of the persons, customs and manners, of the original inhabitants of North America.

The native American Indians are tall and straight in their limbs beyond the proportion of most nations. Their bodies are strong, but more fitted to endure much hardship, than to continue long at any servile work, which they cannot support. Their bodies and heads are flatish: their

features are even and regular, but their countenances fierce; their hair long, black, lank and very strong, but without beards. The colour of their skin is a redish brown, which most of them admire, and take proper methods to improve.

The Europeans, on their first arrival in America, found the Indians quite naked, except those parts, which it is common for the most uncivilized people to conceal. Since that time, they have generally a coarse blanket to cover them, which they buy from their neighbors. The whole tenor of their lives is of a piece: they are hardy, poor and squalid; and their education, from their infancy, is solely directed to fit their bodies for the mode of life they pursue, and to form their minds to inflict and endure the greatest evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war, for agriculture is left to their women.

As soon as their hunting season is over, which they go through with much patience, and in which they exert great ingenuity, they pass the rest of their lives in entire indolence. they sleep half the day in their huts, and observe no bounds of decency in their eating and drinking. Before the Europeans discovered them, they had no spiritous

liquors; but now, the acquirement of these is the principal object of their pursuit.

The Indians are grave, even to sadness, in their deportment upon any serious occasion; observant of those in company, respectful to the old, and of a temper cool and deliberate. They are never in haste to speak before they have thought well of the matter, and are sure the person who spoke before them, has finished all he has to say. They have therefore, the greatest contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans, who interrupt each other, and frequently speak all together. In their public councils and assemblies, every man speaks in his turn, according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country, have ranked him. Not a word, not a whisper, not a murmur is heard from the rest while he speaks; no indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applause. The younger class attend for their instruction, and here they learn the history of their nation; here they are inflamed with the songs of those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors; and here they are taught what are the interests of their country, and how to pursue them.

Though the American Indian is naturally humane and hospitable; yet, to the enemies of his

country, or to those who have privately offended him, he is implacable. He conceals his resentments, he appears reconciled, till, by some treachery or surprize, he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment, no distance of place great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impervious forests, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts for some hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities.

The Americans have scarce any temples; for, as they live by hunting, inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change their habitation, they are seldom very religious. Some appear to have little ideas of God; others entertain better notions, and hold the existence of the Supreme Being, eternal and uncorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditionary among them, they pay him no sort of worship.

The darling passion of the Americans is liberty, and that in its fullest extent; to liberty the native

Indians sacrifice every thing. This is what makes a life of uncertainty and want supportable to them, and their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. They are indulged in all manner of liberty; they are never upon any account, chastised with blows, and very rarely even chidden.

Though some tribes are found in America with a king at their head, yet his power is rather persuasive than coercive, and he is revered as a Father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice. In some tribes there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to years of discretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of the nation. But among the Five Nations, or Iroquois, the most celebrated commonwealth of North America, and in some other nations, there is no other qualification absolutely necessary for the head men, but age, with ability and experience in their affairs.

Whenever any affair of consequence is to be transacted they appoint a feast, of which almost the whole nation partakes. There are smaller feasts on matters of less general concern, to which none are invited but those who are engaged in that

particular business. At these feasts it is against all rule to leave any thing ; so that, if they cannot eat all, what remains is thrown into the fire. They look upon fire as a thing sacred, and in all probability their feasts were anciently sacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins a song, the subject of which is the fabulous or real history of their nation, the remarkable events which have happened, and whatever matters may conduce to their honor or instruction. The others sing in their turn, they have dances too, with which they accompany their songs, chiefly of a martial kind ; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without such songs and dances.

The charge of the internal peace and order is likewise committed to the same council of the elders, which regulates whatever regards the external policy of the state. Their suits are few and quickly decided, having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious.

The loss of any of their people, whether by war or a natural death, is lamented by the whole town he belongs to. In such circumstances no business is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicings permitted however interesting the occasion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead

are performed, which are always discharged with the greatest solemnity. The dead body is washed, anointed and painted, so as in some measure to abate the horrors of death. Then the women lament the loss with the most bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is then interred, habited in the most sumptuous ornaments:— With the body of the deceased are placed his bow and arrows, with what he valued most in his life, and provisions for the long journey he is to take. Feasting attends this, as it does every solemnity.

No instances of regard to their deceased friends are so striking as what they call the Feast of the Dead, or the Feast of Souls. The day of this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing that may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The neighboring people are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity.— At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind, are taken out of their graves; those who have been interred at the great-

est distance from the villages are diligently sought after, and brought to this great rendezvous of sepulchral relicts.

The opening of these tombs displays one of the most striking scenes that can be conceived. This humiliating portrait of human misery, exhibited in so many images of death, wherein a thousand various shapes of horror are depicted, according to the different ravages that time has made, forms altogether a scene too indelicate to be here described. I know not which ought to affect us most, the horror of so striking a sight, or the tender pious and affection of those poor people towards their departed friends.

This strange festival is the most magnificent and solemn of any they have, not only on account of the great concourse of natives and strangers, and of the pompous re-interment they give to the dead, whom they dress in the finest skins they can get, after having exposed them some time in this pomp, but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon the occasion, in the spirit of those which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions. In this manner do they endeavor to soothe the calamities of this life, by the honors they pay to the dead. Though among these

savage nations this custom is impressed with strong marks of the ferocity of their nature ; yet an honor to the dead, a tender feeling of their absence, and a revival of their memory, are some of the most excellent means of softening our rugged nature into humanity.

Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of economy upon themselves, yet they are far from being the slaves they appear, and are not at all subject to the great subordination, in which they are placed in countries where they seem to be more respected. On the contrary, they hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations that concern the state ; nor are they found inferior to the part they act. Polygamy is practised by some nations, but it is not general.— In most places they content themselves with one wife ; but a divorce is admitted, and for the same causes that it was allowed among the Jews, Greeks and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies. Incontinent before marriage, after wedlock the chastity of their women is remarkable. The punishment of the adulteress, as well as that of the adulterer, is in the hands of the husband himself, and it is often severe, being in-

flicted by him who is at once the party and the judge. Their marriages are not fruitful, seldom producing above two or three children; and from hence we may derive the principal cause of the depopulation of America.

The manner of their preparing for war and their mode of carrying it on, seem peculiar to themselves. Almost the sole occupation of the American Indian is war or such an exercise as qualifies him for it. His whole glory consists in this, and no man is at all considered until he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hat with the scalp of one of his enemies. When the ancients resolve upon war, they do not always declare what nation it is they are determined to attack, that the enemy upon whom they really intend to fall, may be off their guard: and they sometimes even let whole years pass over without committing any act of hostility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger.

In the mean time, they are not idle at home.—The principal captain summonses the youths of the town to which he belongs, the war kettle is set on the fire, the war songs and dances come.

mence, the hatchet is sent to the villages and allies of the same nation, and the most hideous howlings continue, without intermission, day and night, over the whole tract of country. The women add their cries to those of the men, lamenting those whom they have either lost in war or by natural death, and demanding their places to be supplied by their enemies.

The fury of the nation being thus raised to the greatest height, and all longing to imbrue their hands in blood, the war captain prepares the feast, which consists of dog's flesh. All that partake of this feast receive little billets, which are so many engagements they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war, but, when they have accepted this billet, they are looked upon as enlisted, and it is then death to recede. All the warriors in this assembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with ashes and streaks of vermilion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Their hair is dressed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds.

In this assembly, which is preparatory to their military expedition, the chief begins the war song, which having continued for some time, he raises

his voice to the highest pitch, and turning off suddenly in a sort of prayer, he addresses himself to the God of war, whom they call Areskoni. "I invoke thee, (says he) to be favorable to my enterprise! I invoke thy care of me and my family! I invoke ye likewise, all ye spirits and demons good and evil! all ye that are in the skies, or on the earth, or under the earth, to pour destruction on our enemies, and to return me and my companions safely to my country!" All the warriors join him in his prayer with shouts and acclamations. The captain renews his song, strikes his club against the stakes of the cottage, and begins the war dance, accompanied with the shouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

On the day appointed for their departure they take leave of their friends, and change their clothes or what moveables they have, in token of friendship. Their wives and female relations go out before them and attend at some distance from the town. The warriors march out all dressed in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. Their Chief walks slowly on before them, singing the death song, while the rest preserve the most profound silence. When they come up to the wo-

men, they deliver to them all their finery, put on their worst clothes, and then proceed as their commander directs.

The Indians seldom engage in a war upon motives common to Europe ; they have no other end but the glory of victory, or the benefit of their slaves, which it enables them to add to their nation, or sacrifice to their brutal fury ; and it is very seldom, that they take any pains to give their wars even the colour of justice. They sometimes fall on one nation and sometimes on another, and surprise some of their hunters, whom they scalp and bring home as prisoners. Their senators wink at this or rather encourage it, as it tends to keep up the martial spirit of the people, inures them to watchfulness and hardships, and gives them an early taste for blood. The qualities of an Indian war are vigilance and attention, and to give and avoid a surprise ; and patience and strength to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardships which always attend it.

They often enter a village, while the strength of the nation is employed in hunting, and massacre all the helpless old men, women and children, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or

have strength enough to be useful to their nation. They often cut off small parties of men in their huntings; but when they discover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themselves flat on their faces among the withered leaves, the colour of which their bodies are painted exactly to resemble. They generally let a part pass unmolested, and then, rising a little, they take aim, being excellent marksmen, and setting up a tremendous shout, which they call the war-cry, they pour a stream of musket bullets on the enemy, having long since laid aside the use of arrows. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every man in haste retires behind a tree, returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they arise from the ground to give the second discharge.

Having fought some time in this manner, the party which thinks it has the advantage rushes out of its cover, with small axes in their hands, which they dart with great address and dexterity. They redouble their cry, intimidate their enemies with menaces, and encourage each other with a boastful display of their own brave actions. Thus having come hand to hand, the contest is soon decided, and the conquerors satiate their savage fury with the most shocking insults and barbarities to

the dead, biting their flesh, tearing their scalps from their heads, and wallowing in their blood, like the wild beasts of the forest.

The fate of their prisoners is indeed miserable. During the greater part of their journey homewards they suffer no injury; but when they arrive at the territories of the conquering state, or at those of their allies, the people from every village meet them, and think they shew their attachment to their friends by the barbarous treatment of the unhappy victims, who on their arrival at their destined station, generally bring with them marks of the most cruel and merciless treatment.

The conquerors enter the town in triumph; the war captain waits upon the head men, and in a low voice gives them a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition, of the damages the enemy have suffered and his own loss in it. This being done the public orator relates the whole to the people. Before they yield to the joy which the victory occasions, they lament the friends they have lost in the pursuit of it. The parties most nearly concerned are apparently afflicted with a deep and real sorrow; but by one of those strange turns of the human mind, fashioned to any thing

by custom, as if they were disciplined in their grief, upon the signal for rejoicing, in a moment the tears are wiped from their eyes, and they rush into an extravagance and phrenzy of joy for their victory. All this time the fate of the prisoners remains undecided, until the old men meet and determine concerning their distribution.

It is usual to offer a slave to each house that has lost a friend, giving the preference according to the greatness of the loss. The person who has taken the captive attends him to the door of the party's cottage, where he delivers him, and with him gives a belt of wampum, to shew that he has fulfilled the purpose of the expedition, in supplying the loss of a citizen. They for some time view the present that is made them, and according as they think him or her, for the sex matters not, proper or improper for the business of the family, or as they take a capricious liking or displeasure to the countenance of the victim, or in proportion to their natural barbarity, or their resentment for their losses, they decide whether they will receive him into the family, or sentence him to death. If they be received into the family, happy is their lot, as they are then accepted into the place of the father, son or husband that is lost; and they have no

other mark of their captivity, but that of not being suffered to return to their own country, to attempt which would be certain death. On the contrary, if they dislike the captive, they throw away the belt with indignation. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to save him, the nation is assembled as upon some great solemnity, a scaffold is raised, and the prisoner tied to the stake. He instantly begins his death song, and prepares for the ensuing scene of cruelty with most undaunted courage. On the other side, they prepare to put it to the utmost proof, with every torment that the mind of man, ingenious in mischief, can devise.

It would be too shocking to the ear of our youthful reader to be told what inhuman tortures are inflicted on him, till at last, one of the chiefs, out of compassion, or weary with cruelty, generally puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger.—The body is then put into the kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast equally inhuman.

On this occasion, the women, forgetting the female nature, and transferring themselves into something worse than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men in this scene of horror. The

principal persons of the country sit round the stake smoking, and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes also, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution there seems a contest between him and them, which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human. Not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, informs them what cruelties he had inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with revenge that will attend his death; and though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect state of madness, rage and fury, he continues his reproach, as even of their ignorance in the act of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted.

We do not dwell upon these circumstances of cruelty, which so much degrade human nature, out of choice; but as all who mention the customs of this people, have very particularly insisted

upon their behaviour in this respect, and as it seems necessary, in order to give a true idea of their character, we do not choose wholly to omit it. It serves to shew, in the strongest light, to what an inconceivable degree of barbarity the passions of men let loose will carry them. It will point out to us the advantages of a religion that teaches a compassion to our enemies, which is neither known nor practised in other religions; and it will make us more sensible, than some appear to be, of the value of commerce, the benefits of a civilized life, and the delights derived from literature, which, if they have abated the force of some of the natural virtues by the luxuries which attend them, have taken out likewise the sting of our national vice, and softened the ferocity of the human race without enervating their courage. On the other hand the constancy of the sufferers in this trying scene, shews the wonderful powers of an early institution, and a ferocious thirst of glory, which makes men imitate and exceed what philosophy and even religion, do not produce.

Having thus taken a cursory review of the customs and manners of the original natives of North America, we shall now proceed to give an account of the first settlement of the British colonies, and

shew from what small beginnings time has raised them to an immense republic, under the title of the United and Independent States of America. In order to accomplish this matter, we have given a general history of the late war, which ended in the loss of thirteen British American colonies. The different sieges and battles that took place during that period, we shall describe as copiously as our narrow limits will permit us.



CHAPTER II.

SEVERAL of the most zealous and eminent protestants in the reign of Edward VI. opposed the popish ceremonies and habits, though otherwise united to their brethren in religious tenets.—Hundreds of them fled into foreign parts to avoid persecutions, where they connected themselves with protestants of other nations, who were equally arduous for a reformation.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, the refugees returned to England, loaded

with experience and learning, but in the utmost distress and poverty. Those of the clergy who could comply with the Queen's establishment, were quickly preferred; but the rest, after being permitted to preach a while, were suspended, and reduced to their former indigence.

The clergy and laity, who wished for greater ecclesiastical purity, struggled hard for the abolishment of popish ceremonies and habits, or at least, leaving the use of them indifferent in divine service, by which they obtained nothing but the honorable nickname of PURITANS. Queen Elizabeth had enough of the blood of Henry the VIIIth, to make her impatient of any opposition to her will, especially in matters of religion, in which she had a high opinion of her own knowledge; and during her whole reign, she kept down the puritans with an uniform and inflexible severity. The merits however, of their sufferings, the affected plainness of their dress, the gravity of their deportment, and the use of scripture phrases on the most ordinary occasions, and even their names, which had in them something striking and venerable, as being borrowed from the Old Testament, gained them a general esteem among sober people of ordinary understandings.

When King James came to the throne, he had a fair opportunity of pacifying matters, or, at least, he might have left them in the condition he found them. On the contrary, he suffered them to be persecuted, but not destroyed; they were exasperated, and yet left powerful; and the then ministry, like those who lately lost our colonies, exposed their own weakness, ignorance and baseness, by an ill-timed severity.

In this state matters remained, until the accession of Charles the First, when they were far from being mended. This prince, endowed with some virtues, had very few amiable qualities. As grave as the puritans themselves, he could never engage the licentious part of the world in his favor; and that gravity being turned against the puritans, made him more odious to them. He gave himself up entirely to the church and churchmen, and he finished his ill conduct in this respect, by conferring the first ecclesiastical dignity of the kingdom, and a great sway in temporal affairs, upon Doctor Laud, who, hardly fit to direct a college, was intrusted with the government of an empire.

The puritans considered the most dreary realms, and the most unfrequented regions, where they

could enjoy liberty of conscience, as superior to the most splendid palaces, where they were to be governed by Laud. In consequence of these disaffections, a little colony sailed from England, and established itself at a place called New-Plymouth, on the continent of America. This happened in 1620.

They were but few in number, they landed in a bad season, and were supplied only from their private funds. The winter was premature, and extremely cold. The country was every where covered with wood, and afforded very little for the refreshment of persons sickly with such a voyage, or even for the sustenance of an infant people.— Nearly half of them perished by the scurvy, by want, and the severity of the climate; but those who survived, not dispirited with their losses, nor with the hardships they were still to endure, supported by the vigor which was then the character of Englishmen, and by the satisfaction of finding themselves out of the reach of the spiritual arm, were enabled to procure in this savage country, a tolerable livelihood, and by degrees a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families.

The people of New-Plymouth, having cleared the way for other sufferers to settle in America, with less difficulty and danger than what they had experienced; the fame of their plantation spreading through the western part of England, and the government in church and state growing every day more oppressive, the territory of the Massachusetts' Bay was purchased of the Plymouth council, in 1628, and a company soon formed, who consulted on settling a plantation, to which non-conforming puritans might emigrate, in order to enjoy their own principles in full security.

In 1630, a large company arrived at Salem, consisting of more than fifteen hundred persons, from different counties in England. From the beginning of the colony, until the emigration ceased, in 1640, through a change of affairs in England, there arrived in 298 vessels, about 21,200 settlers, men, women and children, or four thousand families.

They did not however, all confine themselves to this colony: several families removed to Connecticut River, by mutual agreement with their fellow emigrants, who remained behind. Plantations were formed at Hartford, Windsor and Wethers-

field. The inhabitants being soon after fully satisfied, that they were out of the Massachusetts' limits, and of course its jurisdiction, entered into a combination among themselves, became a body politic, without restraining the freedom of their civil government to the membership of their churches, and proceeded to the choice of magistrates and representatives.

Two large ships arrived at Massachusetts' Bay, in 1637, with passengers from London. Great pains were taken to prevail upon them to remain in the colony; but they hoped, by moving to a considerable distance, to be out of the reach of a general governor, with whom the country was then threatened. They sent to their friends in Connecticut to purchase of the natives the lands lying between them and Hudson's river. They then laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, of which New-Haven was the capital. Connecticut and New-Haven continued two distinct colonies for many years. At length the general court of Connecticut determined to prefer an address and petition to Charles the Second, professing their subjection and loyalty to his majesty, and soliciting a royal charter; and John Winthrop, Esq.

who had been chosen governor, was appointed to negotiate the affair with the king. He succeeded, and a royal charter was obtained, constituting the two colonies forever one body corporate and politic.

Mr. Roger Williams, a pastor of the church of Salem, being banished from Massachusetts, on account of some religious disputes, went to the Narraganset country, accompanied with twelve companions, and had land given him by the Indian Sachem Canonicus; of whom he afterwards purchased the large tract, lying between Pawtucket and Pawturat rivers, (the great falls and the little falls, as the Indian name signifies) and styled it 'Providence,' from a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress.

The authority and power of Miantonomo, another Sachem, and his uncle Canonicus, awed all the Indians round to assist him and his few associates. When the determinations of the Massachusetts general court, occasioned by what they called antinomian disputes, banished many, and induced others to leave the colony, the heads of the party were entertained in a friendly manner by Mr. Williams, who advised them to seek a settlement on

Rhode-Island, in the year 1638, and was very instrumental in procuring it of the Indian sachems.

New-Hampshire and the Maine were settled about the same time with the Massachusetts, by different proprietors, who had obtained patents, and whose views were to enrich themselves by the fishing trade at sea and the beaver trade ashore.

The colony of New-York demands our next attention. The Dutch had settled it, and named it the New-Netherlands.—Charles the Second resolved upon its conquest in 1664; and in March granted to his brother the Duke of York, the region extending from the western banks of the Connecticut to the eastern shore of the Delaware, together with Long-Island, conferring on him the civil and military powers of government. Colonel Nichols was sent with four frigates and three hundred soldiers to effect the business. The Dutch governor being unable to make resistance, the New-Netherlands submitted to the English crown, in September without any other change than of rulers. Few of the Dutch removed, and Nichols instantly entered upon the exercise of his power, as Deputy governor for the Duke of York, the proprietary.

About the same time, 1664, New-Jersey, which was also taken from the Dutch, who were considered as having no right to any of their settlements in these parts of America, were included in the grant of the Duke of York. The Duke disposed of it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, who being sole proprietors, for the better settlement of it, agreed upon certain constitutions of government, so well liked, that the eastern parts were soon considerably peopled.

Virginia was the original name of all the English North American continental claims, given in honor to the Virgin Queen Elizabeth. King James being applied to, granted letters patent to a body of gentlemen, on the 6th of April, 1606, with powers to divide themselves into two distinct companies, the one consisting of London adventurers, called the first, or southern colony of Virginia; the second or northern colony composed of merchants, belonging to Bristol, Plymouth and Exeter. The territory granted to the first, or southern colony was generally called VIRGINIA, without any distinguishing epithet, and retained that name after the second or northern colony obtained the name of New-England in 1614.

We come next to speak of Maryland. The first emigration to this part of America consisted of two hundred gentlemen of considerable fortune and rank, with their adherents, chiefly Roman Catholics, who hoped to enjoy liberty of conscience under a proprietary of their own profession. They sailed from England in November, and landed in Maryland the beginning of 1633. Governor Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, very wisely and justly purchased, by presents of various goods, the right of the Indians, and with their free consent took possession of their town, which he called St. Mary's. The country was settled with so much ease, and furnished with so many conveniences, that emigrants repaired thither in such numbers as soon to render the colony populous and flourishing.

Carolina follows Maryland in the order of existence. A few adventurers emigrated from the Massachusetts, and settled round Cape Fear, about the time of the Restoration. They considered mere occupancy, with a transfer from the natives, without any grant from the king, as a good title upon the lands they possessed. They deemed themselves entitled to the same civil privileges as those of the country from whence they had emigrated.

For years they experienced the complicated miseries of want. They solicited the aid of their countrymen, and the general court of Massachusetts, with an attention and humanity which did it the greatest honor, ordered an extensive contribution for their relief.

The final settlement of the province was effected equally through the rapacity of the courtiers of Charles the Second, and his own facility in rewarding those, to whom he was greatly indebted, with a liberality that cost him little. The pretence, which had been used on former occasions, of a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, was successively employed to procure a grant of the immense region, lying between the 36th degree of north latitude, and the river of St. Matheo, under the 31st degree. In March, 1663, this territory was erected into a province by the name CAROLINA, and conferred on Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, as absolute lord proprietaries, forever, saving the allegiance due to the crown.

Pennsylvania and the Delaware counties next demand our attention. Mr. William Penn, one

of the joint purchasers of the western part of the Jerseys, having received the most exact information of the country to the westward of the Delaware, while engaged in the administration of the joint purchase, became desirous of acquiring a separate estate.

He presented a petition to Charles the Second in June, 1680, stating not only his relationship to the late admiral, but that he was deprived of a debt due from the crown, when the Exchequer was shut. He prayed for a grant of lands, lying to the northward of Maryland, and westward of the Delaware, and added, that by his interest, he should be able to settle a province, which might, in time, repay his claims. Having a prospect of success, he copied from the charter of Maryland the sketch of a patent, which in November was laid before the attorney general for his opinion.

Penn had the same object in view as Lord Baltimore had, the guarding against the exertions of prerogative, which experience had taught both were very inconvenient. The attorney general declared the clause of exemption from taxation illegal; and chief justice North being of the same opinion, and observing its tendency, added the saving of the authority of the English parliament;

so that it was stipulated by the king, for himself and his successors, that "no custom or other contribution shall be laid on the inhabitants or their estates, unless by the consent of the proprietary, or governor and assembly, or by act of parliament in England."

The next year, 1681, the patent was granted, in consideration of "the merits of the father, and the good purposes of the son, in order to extend the English empire, and to promote useful commerce." It was provided by fit clauses, that the sovereignty of the king should be preserved, and that acts of parliament, concerning trade, navigation, and the customs be duly observed. Penn was empowered to assemble all the freemen, or their delegates, in such form as he shall think proper for raising money for the use of the colony, and for making useful laws, not contrary to those of England, or the rights of the kingdom. A duplicate of the acts of the assembly was to be transmitted, within five years, to the king in council, and the acts might be declared void within six months if not approved. It now remains only to give a concise account of the settlement of Georgia.

In 1732, a number of gentlemen considering the vast benefit that might arise from the tract of land lying between the Savannah and the river Altamaha, petitioned the king for a charter, which was accordingly granted in June. They meant that the country should be made a bulwark for the southern colonies against the Spaniards, and should give employment to numbers of people, who were burthenfome at home to their friends and parishes.

Towards the end of August, Sir Gilbert Heathcote recommended, in the strongest terms, to the directors of the bank, the interest of the colony. His speech had the desired effect, and the members of the court, after his example contributed largely towards the undertaking, as did great numbers of the nobility, gentry, clergy and others; and the parliament granted 10,000*l*. By the beginning of November, about one hundred and sixteen colonists presented themselves, most of them laboring people, and were furnished with working tools of all kinds, stores and small arms.

Mr. Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, generously attended the first set of emigrants to Carolina, where they arrived in good health in January, 1733. The Carolinians made them a present of

one hundred breeding cattle, besides hogs, and twenty barrels of rice; and furnished them with a party of horse, and with scout boats, by the help of which they reached the Savannah, where Mr. Oglethorpe, ten miles up the river, pitched upon a spot for a town, and in February the building of the first house commenced.

Mr. Oglethorpe was waited upon by a numerous deputation from the Lower Creek nation, with whom he concluded a treaty, and soon after set out for Charleston on his return to England, bringing with him several chiefs and a war captain. Before the end of March, 1734, more emigrants, to the amount of six hundred, were either sent over by charity, or went at their own expense.

In October the Indians embarked for their own country, having had an allowance, while in London, of twenty pounds a week, of which they spent little, as they commonly eat and drank at the table of persons of the highest distinction. They embarked at Gravesend, in a ship which carried over a number of Saltzburghers, being German protestants, who, with others of their countrymen that followed, settled on the Savannah, a town they called Ebenezer, and which, by their habits of industry and sobriety soon became considerable.

The Georgians made a surprizing progress in clearing their lands, and building their houses, and as an encouragement, the British Parliament granted them a supply of 26,000*l.* which, with very great private donations, were expended upon strengthening the southern part of Georgia.

Thus have we given a succinct account of the first establishment of the British colonies in North America. By what unhappy means they at last became separated from the mother country, will be clearly shown in the subsequent part of this history.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

First settlement made at Virginia,	A. D.	1606
Settlement at New Plymouth, - -		1620
New-Hampshire and the Maine settled,		1628
Puritans purchase and settle Massachusetts' B.		1628
Settlement at Maryland, - - -		1633
Connecticut and Providence, - -		1635
New-Haven settled, - - -		1637
Settlement of Rhode-Island, - -		1638
Carolina settled, - - -		1663
New-York and New-Jersey, - -		1664
Pennsylvania and Delaware counties,		1681
Georgia settled, - - -		1733

CHAPTER III.

THE narrow limits prescribed to us in this epitome, will not permit us to enter into a copious detail of all the minute concerns of the colonies, which may be found in more voluminous works, and there read by those, who have leisure and inclination to pursue so dry a study. We shall therefore proceed to describe only events of some consequence.

News being received in the Massachusetts of war being declared against France and Spain, the general court, then sitting, made immediate provision for raising forces for Annapolis in Nova-Scotia.

Towards the end of the month of April, 1745, Commodore Warren arrived from the West-Indies, with a sixty gun ship, and two of forty. He was afterwards joined by another of forty, which had reached Canso a short time before. The men of war sailed immediately to cruise before Louisburg. The forces soon followed, and landed at Chapeau-rogue Bay the last day of April. The transports were discovered from the town early in the morn-

ing, which gave the inhabitants the first knowledge of the design.

The second day after landing, four hundred men marched round, behind the hills, to the north-east harbor, where they got about midnight, and set fire to all the dwellings and storehouses, till they came within a mile of the grand battery. The clouds of thick smoke proceeding from the pitch, tar, and other combustibles, prevented the garrison's discovering the enemy, though they were but at a short distance.

They expected the body of the army upon them, and therefore deserted the fort, having thrown their powder into a well; but the cannon and shot were left, which proved of great service to the besiegers. The army had near two miles to transport their cannon, mortars, &c. through a morass which required great labor to accomplish. The men were yoked together, and during the night made great advances.

While the forces were busily employed on shore, the men of war, and other vessels were cruising off the harbor, as often as the weather would permit. On the 18th of May, they captured a French 44 gun ship, having 560 men on board, and stores of all sorts for the garrison.

It was given out that an attack would be made by sea with the ships, on the 18th, while the army did the like by land. Whether a general storm was really intended or not, the French appeared to expect it, from the preparations making on board the men of war, and seemed not inclined to attempt to withstand it.

On the 15th, a flag of truce was sent to the general, desiring a cessation of hostilities, that they might consider of articles for a capitulation. Time was allowed, but their articles were rejected by the general and commodore, and others offered, which were accepted by the French, and hostages given on both sides. The town was in consequence delivered up on the 17th. As this was a time when vessels were expected from all parts at Louisburg, the French flag was kept flying as a decoy. Two East-Indiamen, and one south sea ship, of the value of 600,000*l.* sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbor, into which they sailed as usual, not knowing that the place had been taken by the English.

The French having been very troublesome in the back settlements of our colonies, it was concluded to take effectual methods to drive them

from the Ohio. The reduction of Niagara, Crown Point, and their forts in Nova-Scotia, was also resolved on. General Braddock was accordingly sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments of foot; and on his arrival, when joined by the rest of the forces destined for that service, he found himself at the head of 2200 men. He had bravery, but wanted other qualifications to render him fit for the service to which he was appointed.—The severity of his discipline made him unpopular among the regulars, and his haughtiness deprived him of the esteem of the Americans. His pride disgusted the Indians, and led him to despise the country militia, and to slight the advice of the Virginian officers.

Colonel Washington earnestly begged of him when the army was marching for Fort Du Quesne, to admit of his going before, and scouring the woods with his rangers, which was contemptuously refused. The general had been cautioned by the Duke of Cumberland to guard against a surprise, and yet he pushed on heedlessly with the first division, consisting of 1400, till he fell into an ambuscade of 400, chiefly Indians, by whom he was defeated and mortally wounded, on the 9th of July, 1755.

The regulars were put into the greatest panic, and fled in the utmost confusion ; but the militia had been used to Indian fighting, and were not so terrified. The general had disdainfully turned them into the rear, where they continued in a body unbroken, and served under Colonel Washington as a most useful rear guard, which covered the retreat of the regulars, and prevented their being entirely cut to pieces.

Previous to this, and agreeable to the views of the British ministry, the Massachusetts assembly raised a body of troops which were sent to Nova-Scotia, to assist Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence in driving the French from their several encroachments within that province.

The expedition against Niagara was intrusted to Gov. Shirley, but failed through various causes.

Sir William, then Colonel Johnson, was appointed to go against Crown Point. The delays, slowness, and deficiency of preparation, prevented the several colonies joining their troops till about August. In the mean time the active enemy had transported forces from France to Canada, marched them down to meet the provincials, and attacked them ; but, meeting with a repulse, lost 600

men, besides having their general, Baron Dietkau, wounded and made prisoner.

The next year the Massachusetts raised a great armament to go against Crown Point; but Lord Loudon, on his arrival did not think it proper that the forces should proceed, owing to a temporary misunderstanding between his Lordship and the general court.

In the year 1758, happily for the British nation, the great Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry, when the face of affairs was soon changed, the war prosecuted with unexampled success and the enemy was at length driven out of America.

Mr. Israel Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent, in 1763, gave early notice of the ministerial intentions to tax the colonies; but the general court not being called together till the latter end of the year, instructions to the agent, though solicited by him, could not be sent in proper time.

The next year, however, 1764, the house of Representatives came to the following resolutions: "That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of the province, was vested in them as their legal representatives; and that

the imposition of duties and taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, upon a people who are not represented in the house of Commons is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights."—"That no man can justly take the property of another without his consent; upon which original principle, the right of representation in the same body, which exercises the power of making laws for levying taxes, one of the main pillars of the British constitution, is evidently founded."

These resolutions were occasioned by intelligence of what had been done in the British House of Commons. It had been there debated in March, whether they had a right to tax the Americans, they not being represented, and determined unanimously in the affirmative. Not a single person present ventured to controvert the right.

After various propositions for taxing the colonies, Mr. Grenville's intended stamp act was communicated to the American agents. Many of them did not oppose it, half their numbers being placemen or dependents on the ministry. Mr. Joseph Sherwood, an honest Quaker, agent for Rhode-Island, refused his consent to America's being taxed by a British Parliament. Mr. Mauduit, the Mas-

Massachusetts agent, favored the raising of the wanted money by a stamp duty, as it would occasion less expense of officers, and would include the West-India islands. The scheme, however, was postponed, and the agents authorized to inform the American assemblies, that they were at liberty to suggest any other ways of raising monies, and that Mr. Grenville was ready to receive proposals for any other tax, that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp tax. The colonies seemed to consider it as an affront rather than as a compliment. The minister would not be content with any thing short of a specific sum, and proper funds for the payment of it. Had not the sums been answerable to his wishes, he would have rejected them, and he would scarcely have been satisfied with less than 300,000*l.* per annum, which was judged absolutely necessary, to defray the whole expense of the army proposed for the defence of America.

No satisfactory proposals being made on the side of the Americans, Mr. Grenville adhered to his purpose of bringing forward the stamp bill, though repeatedly pressed by some of his friends to desist—Richard Jackson, Esq. had been chosen

agent for the Massachusetts, who, with Mr. Franklin, and others, lately come from Philadelphia, waited on Mr. Grenville, in February, 1765, to remonstrate against the stamp bill, and to propose, that in case any tax must be laid upon America, the several colonies might be permitted to lay the tax themselves. Mr. Grenville, however, adhered to his own opinions, and said he had pledged his word for offering the stamp bill to the house, and that the house would hear their objections.

The bill was accordingly brought in, and in March, the same year, received the royal assent.—The framers of the stamp act flattered themselves, that the confusion which would arise from the disuse of writings, would compel the colonies to use stamp paper, and therefore to pay the taxes imposed. Thus they were led to pronounce it to be a law which would execute itself.

Mr. Grenville, however, was not without his apprehensions that it might occasion disorders; to prevent or suppress which he projected another bill, which was brought in the same session, whereby it was made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses. This seemed intended to awe the people.

into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition being made to it, as under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own, that part of the bill was dropt; but there still remained a clause when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, and to furnish them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer, rum, and sundry other articles, at the expense of the several provinces. This clause continued in force after the stamp act was repealed.

These proceedings of the mother country gave rise to great disturbances in America. Some persons of consequence at Boston, to manifest their abhorrence and detestation of a party in England, who they supposed were endeavoring to subvert the British constitution, to enslave the colonies, and to alienate the affections of his majesty's most faithful subjects in America, early in the morning of the 14th of August hung upon the limb of a large dead elm, near the entrance of Boston, in one of the most public streets, two effigies. One of them as appeared by the labels affixed thereto, was intended to represent the stamp officer; the other was a jack-boot with a head and horns peeping out of the top.

The report of this novelty drew great numbers from every part of the town and the neighboring country. This affair was left to take its own course, so that an enthusiastic spirit diffused itself into the minds of the spectators. In the evening, the figures were cut down, and carried in funeral procession, the populace shouting, liberty and property forever ! No stamps, &c.

They then went to a new building, erected by Mr. Oliver, which they pulled down, falsely supposing it to be designed for the stamp office. As soon as they approached Mr. Oliver's house they beheaded the effigy, at the same time breaking all his windows, and demolishing his gardens, fences, barns, and every thing which came in their way.

The next day, Mr. Oliver, fearful of what might happen, declared that he had written to England and resigned. The mob assembled again at night, and after some expressions of joy for the resignation, proceeded to the lieutenant governor's, Mr. Hutchinson's house, which they besieged for an hour, but in vain; insisting repeatedly upon knowing, whether he had not written in favor of the stamp act.

These disorders grew every day more enormous and alarming. Mobs once raised soon become

ungovernable by new and large accessions, and extend their original intention far beyond those of the original instigators. Crafty men may intermix with them, when they are much heated, and direct their operations very differently from what was first designed.

People in England were differently affected by the disturbances in the colonies. Some were for supporting the authority of Parliament at all events, and for enforcing the stamp act, if needful, with the point of the sword; while others were for quieting the colonies by the repeal of it. Happily for them, Mr. Grenville and his party were thrown out of place, and were succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, when, on the 22d of February, 1766, this obnoxious act was repealed.

In May, 1767, Mr. Charles Townsend, then chancellor of the Exchequer, moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in bills for granting a duty upon paper, glass, painters' colours, &c. in the British American colonies; for settling salaries on the governors, judges, &c. in North America; and for taking off the duties on teas exported to America, and granting a duty of three pence a pound on the importation in America. Two bills

were at length framed, and in June received the royal assent.

These acts occasioned fresh disturbances in America, where matters were carried to a much greater height than before. In consequence of this, Lord Hillsborough wrote to General Gage, in June, 1768, to send troops to Boston, in order to preserve the peace of that town.

The introduction of troops into Boston was attended with very serious consequences. The inhabitants became exceedingly riotous, and some of the rabble pushed their ill conduct so far, as to oblige the soldiers to fire on them in their own defence. This happened on the 5th of March, 1770, when three persons were killed, five dangerously wounded, and a few slightly.

This was far from removing the evil, and only tended to widen the breach. Under the notion of zeal for liberty, the rabble ran into the most extensive licentiousness, and were every where guilty of the most lawless, unjust and tyrannical proceedings, pulling down houses, destroying the property of every one that had fallen under their displeasure and delivering prisoners out of the hands of justice.

Let us now turn our attention to see what was doing, in the mean time at home. The supporting the authority of parliament, was the only cause assigned by the minister himself for retaining the tea duty at the very time he acknowledged it to be as anti-commercial a tax, as any of those that had been repealed upon that principle.

The East India company feeling the bad effects of the colonial smuggling trade in the large quantities of tea, which remained in their ware houses unfold, requested the repeal of the three pence per pound in America, and offered, on its being complied with, government should retain six pence in the pound on the exportation. Thus the company presented the happiest opportunity that could have been offered for honorably removing the cause of difference with America. This afforded an opening for doing justice, without infringing the claims on either side. The minister was requested and intreated, by a gentleman of great weight in the company, and a member of parliament, to embrace the opportunity; but it was obstinately rejected.

New contrivances were set on foot to introduce the tea, attended with the three penny duty, into

all the colonies. Various intrigues and solicitations were used to induce the East India company to undertake this rash and foolish business. It was protested against as contrary to the principle of the company's monopoly; but the power of the ministry prevailed, and the insignificant three-penny duty on tea was doomed to be the fatal bone of contention between Great Britain and her colonies. The company at last adopted the system, and became their own factors. They sent 600 chests of tea to Philadelphia, the like quantity to New-York and Boston, besides what was consigned to other places. Several ships were also freighted for different colonies, and agents appointed for the disposal of the commodity.

In the mean time the colonists, who well knew what had passed in the mother country, were concerting measures to counteract the views of the British ministry. Soon after the arrival of the tea ships at Boston, a number of persons, chiefly masters of vessels, and ship builders from the north end of the town, about seventeen in number, dressed as Indians, went on board the ships, and in about two hours hoisted out of them and broke open 342 chests of tea, the contents of which they emptied into the sea. They were not in the least

molested; for the multitude of spectators on the wharf served as a covering party. The whole business was conducted with very little tumult, and no damage was done to the vessels or any other property. When the business was finished, the people returned quietly to their own towns and habitations.

These and other decisive proceedings of the Bostonians, induced the British ministry to bring in a bill into parliament, "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of the customs at Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares and merchandizes at Boston, or within the harbor thereof." On the 31st of March, 1774, the bill received the royal assent.

Other bills were passed by the British Parliament, brought in by Lord North, all tending to punish the Americans, and the Bostonians in particular for their refractory behaviour. Petitions were sent over from America, and several of the members of both houses reprobated these severe and dangerous proceedings; but no regard was paid either to the petitions or to the remonstrances of the minority in both houses. The then minist-

try, at the head of which was Lord North, were determined to accept from the Americans of nothing short of absolute and implicit obedience to the laws of taxation. On the other hand, the people of Massachusetts' Bay, supported and spurred on by the other colonies, were determined not to submit, and prepared to repel force by force. They collected all the arms they could, and spent much of their time in the exercise of them.

These proceedings of the people, and their manifest disposition to resistance, alarmed the general, who thought it necessary, for the safety of the troops, as well as to secure the important post of Boston, to fortify the entrance at the neck, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between the town and the continent.

In England, petitions were presented from the merchants of London, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom; and Mr. Bolla, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, also presented petitions from the American congress; but government treated them with indifference and contempt.

Lord Chatham persevered in the prosecution of his conciliatory scheme with America, and accord-

ingly brought into the house of lords the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would answer that salutary purpose ; but the ministry rejected it. At the same time, Lord North gave a sketch of the measures he intended to pursue, which were to send a greater force to America, and to bring in a temporary act, to put a stop to all the foreign trade of the different colonies of New-England, particularly their fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty.

While matters were thus going on at home, General Gage, at Boston, received intelligence that cannon and carriages were deposited in the neighborhood of Salem. He accordingly sent a body of troops from the castle to seize them, but the Americans found time to get them away, and the troops returned without effecting any thing.

A skirmish having happened at Lexington, between the king's troops and a party of the militia, General Gage no sooner received this intelligence than he detached Lord Percy to Concord, with sixteen companies of foot, and a number of marines, 900 men in the whole, and two pieces of cannon, to support Colonel Smith.

The junction of the brigade under Lord Percy, with the detachment under Colonel Smith, gave the last a breathing time, especially as they now had cannon, which awed the provincials from pressing upon the rear in a direct line; but the whole force did not venture to halt long, as the minute men and militia were every where collecting, in order to cut off their retreat to Boston.— They soon renewed their march, constant skirmishing succeeded, and a continual fire, though often irregular and scattering on their side, as well as on the part of the provincials. The close firing from behind the walls, by good marksmen, for such were almost all the provincials, put the troops into no small confusion, and made it so dangerous for the officers, that they were more attentive to their safety than common. The regulars when near Cambridge, were upon the point of taking a wrong road, which would have led them into the most imminent danger; but were prevented by the direction of a young gentleman residing at the college. They made good their retreat a little after sunset, over Charlestown neck to Bunker's hill, but spent and worn down by the excessive fatigues they had undergone, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. Here they remained se-

cure till the next day, when they crossed at Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston. In this skirmish, the regulars had 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 made prisoners. The provincials had 50 men killed, 34 wounded, and 4 missing.

Let us now return to the mother country, where the restraining and fishery bill met with great opposition in both houses of parliament. The fishery bill had scarcely cleared the House of Commons, when Lord North brought in another to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations.

The British ministry did not confine themselves to the making of laws; but they also sent out against the Americans the Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne, who left England on the 28th of May, and in about a week afterwards transports laden with troops sailed from Cork, to reinforce] General Gage.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

Expedition against Louisburg,	-	A. D. 1745
General Braddock defeated,	-	1755
Massachusetts assembly declare against parliamentary taxes,	- - - -	1764
The stamp act. passed—Riots at Boston on account of that act,	- - - -	1765
The stamp act repealed,	- - - -	1766
Mr. C. Townsend taxes the colonies again,		1767
Troops ordered to Boston,	- - -	1768
Soldiers at Boston fire on the inhabitants,		1770
The East-India company empowered to export their own teas.—The tea thrown into the sea at Boston,	- - - -	1773
The Massachusetts people prepare to defend their rights by arms.—General Gage fortifies the entrance into Boston,	- -	1774
General Gage sends troops to Salem—Skirmishes at Concord and Lexington—The restraining bills passed in England—The Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne, sail for Boston,	- - - -	1775

CHAPTER IV.

THE necessity of securing Ticonderoga was early attended to by many in New-England. Gen. Gage had set the example of attempting to seize upon military stores, and by so doing had commenced hostilities, so that retaliation appeared war-rantable.

Colonel Allen was at Castleton, with about 270 men, 230 of whom were *Green mountain Boys*, so called from their residing within the limits of the Green Mountains, the Hampshire Grants being so denominated from the range of green mountains that run through them. Sentinels were placed immediately on all the roads to prevent any intelligence being carried to Ticonderoga.

Col. Arnold, who now joined colonel Allen reported that there were at Ticonderoga, 80 pieces of heavy cannon, 20 of brass, from four to eighteen pounders, ten or a dozen mortars, a number of small arms, and considerable stores; that the fort was in a ruinous condition, and as he supposed, garrisoned by about 40 men. It was then settled,

that colonel Allen should have the supreme command, and colonel Arnold was to be his assistant.

Colonel Allen, with his 230 Green Mountain Boys, arrived at Lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga, on the 9th of May, at night. Boats were with difficulty procured, when he and colonel Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. The two colonels advanced along side of each other, and entered the port, leading to the fort, in the grey of the morning. A sentry snapped his fusée at colonel Allen, and then retreated through the covered way to the parade.—The main body of Americans then followed, and drew up. Captain de la Place, the commander, was surprized in bed. Thus was the place taken without any bloodshed.

On the 15th June, 1775, the congress proceeded to choose by ballot, a General to command all the continental forces, and George Washington, Esq. was unanimously elected.

The next day orders were issued by the Americans, for a detachment of a thousand men, to march at evening, and intrench upon Bunker's Hill. By some mistake, Breed's Hill, high and large like the other, but situated on the furthest

part of the peninsula, next to Boston, was marked out for the intrenchment instead of Bunker's. The provincials proceeded therefore to Breed's hill; but were prevented going to work till near 12 o'clock at night, when they pursued their business with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that by the dawn of the day they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. Such was the extraordinary silence that reigned among them, that they were not heard by the British on board their vessels in the neighboring waters. The sight of the work was the first notice that the Lively man of war had of them, when the captain began firing upon them about four in the morning.

The guns called the town of Boston, the camp, and the fleet, to behold a novelty, which was little expected. The prospect obliged the British generals to alter the plan they intended to have pursued the next day. They grew weary of being cooped in Boston, and had resolved upon making themselves masters of Dorchester heights; but the present provincial movement prevented the expedition. They were now called to attempt possessing themselves of Breed's hill, on which the provincials continued working, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy's ships, a number of floating bat-

teries, and a fortification upon Copp's hill, in Boston, directly opposite to the little American redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was poured by the batteries upon the American work, and yet but one man was killed.

The Americans continued laboring indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of that hill; but they were prevented completing it from the intolerable fire of the enemy. By some unaccountable error, the detachment, which had been working for hours, was neither relieved nor supplied with refreshments, but were left to engage under these disadvantages.

Between twelve and one o'clock, and the day exceedingly hot, a number of boats and barges, filled with regular troops from Boston approached Charlestown, when the men were landed at Moreton's point. They consisted of four battalions, two companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery; but, by some oversight, their spare cartridges were much too big for them: so that when the Americans were at length forced from their lines, there was not a round of artillery cartridges remaining.

Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot had the command. The troops formed, and remained in that position, till joined by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of the land forces, and a battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to about 3000 men. The Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their stand upon Cepp's hill, to observe and contemplate the bloody and destructive operations that were now commencing. The regulars formed in two lines, and advanced deliberately, frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire, which was not well served. The light infantry were directed to force the left point of the breast work, and to take the American line in flank. The grenadiers advanced to attack in front, supported by two battalions, while the left under Gen. Pigot, inclined to the right of the American line. One or two of the continental regiments had been posted in Charlestown, but afterwards removed to prevent their being cut off by a sudden attack; so that the British were not in the least hurt by the musketry from thence.

General Gage had for some time resolved upon burning the town, whenever any works were raised by the Americans upon the hills belonging to

it; and while the British were advancing nearer to the attack, orders came to Copp's hill for executing the resolution. Soon after a carcass was discharged, which set fire to an old house near the ferry way; the fire instantly spread, and most of the place was soon in flames; while the houses at the eastern end of Charlestown were set on fire by men who landed from the boats.

The regulars derived no advantage from the smoke of the conflagration, for the wind suddenly shifting carried it another way so that it could not cover them in their approach. The provincials had not a rifleman among them, not one being yet arrived from the southward; nor had they any other guns than common muskets, and even those were not furnished with bayonets. However they were almost all marksmen, being accustomed to sporting of one kind or other from their youth. A number of Massachusetts people were in the redoubt, and the part of the breast work nearest it.—The left of the breast work, and the open ground stretching beyond its point to the water side, through which there was not an opportunity of carrying the work, was occupied partly by the Massachusetts forces, and partly by the people of Connecticut.

The British moved on slowly to the attack, instead of using a quick step; which gave the provincials the advantage of taking surer and cooler aim. These reserved their fire, till the regulars came within ten or twelve rods, when they began a furious discharge of small arms, which stopped the regulars, who kept up the firing without advancing. The discharge from the Americans was so incessant, and did such execution, that the regulars retreated in disorder, and with great precipitation towards the place of landing. Their officers used every effort to make them return to the charge, with which they at length complied; but the Americans again reserved their fire till the regulars came within five or six rods, when the enemy was a second time put to flight.

General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions; and General Clinton, perceiving how the army was staggered, passed over, without waiting for orders, and joined them in time to be of service. The Americans being in want of powder, sent for a supply but could procure none; for there was but a barrel and a half in the magazine. This deficiency disabled them from making the same defence as before; while the British reaped a further advantage by bringing some san-

non to bear, so as to rake the inside of the breast-work from end to end. The regular army now made a decisive push, and the fire from the ships and batteries was redoubled. The provincials were of necessity ordered to retreat.

It was feared by the Americans, that the British troops would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to the head quarters at Cambridge, about two miles distant, and in no state of defence. But they advanced no farther than to Bunker's hill, where they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same upon prospect hill, in front of them, about half way to Cambridge.

The loss of the British according to Gen. Gage, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed ; of these 19 were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant colonel, two majors, and seven captains. Seventy other officers were wounded.—Among those more generally regretted, were lieutenant-colonel Abercromby and major Pitcairn.

The provincials had 139 killed, 278 wounded and 36 were missing, in all 453.

In the opinion of many, General Howe was chargeable with a capital error in landing and at-

tacking as he did. It might originate from too great a confidence in the forces he commanded, and in too contemptuous an opinion of the enemy he had to encounter. He certainly might have entrapped the provincials, by landing on the narrowest part of Charlestown neck, under the fire of the floating batteries and ships of war. Here he might have stationed and fortified his army, and kept up an open communication with Boston by a water carriage, which he would have commanded thro' the aid of the navy, on each side of the peninsula. Had he made this manoeuvre, the provincials must have made a rapid retreat from Breed's hill, to escape having his troops in their rear, and being enclosed. It was said that general Clinton proposed it. The rejection of that proposal greatly weakened the British army, and probably prevented the ruin of the Americans.

In July, the congress received a letter from the convention of Georgia, setting forth, that the colony had acceded to the general association, and appointed delegates to attend the congress.

The accession of Georgia to the colonies occasioned their being afterwards called *The Thirteen United Colonies*. The first hostilities that hap-

pened in this part, between the opposite parties, commenced about the middle of November, when a number of royalists attacked the Americans, and obliged them after three days to surrender a fort they had taken possession of, in which they expected to make an effectual resistance.

In the month of November, the New-York convention having resolved upon the removal of the cannon from the battery of the city, captain Sears, was appointed to the business. Captain Vandeput, of the *Asia* man of war, was privately informed of the design, and prepared to oppose its execution. Learning when it was to be attempted, he appointed a boat to watch the motion of the people assembled for the purpose about the dead of night. The sailors in the boat giving the signal, with a flash of powder of what was going forward, the persons on shore mistook it for an attempt to fire a musket at them, and immediately fired a volley of shot at the boat, by which a man was killed. Captain Vandeput soon after commenced a firing from the *Asia* with grape and swivel shot, 18 and 24 pounders, without killing a single person, and wounded only three, two slightly, the other lost the calf of the leg. He then ceased for a considerable time, supposing that the people had desisted

from their purpose, while they were only changing their mode of operation.

Captain Sears provided a deceiving party, intended to draw the Asia's fire from the line of the working party. He sent the former behind a breast work, by which they were secured by dodging down upon observing the flash of the Asia's guns. When all was in readiness, they huzzaed, and sung out their notes as though tugging in unison, and fired from the walls; while the working party silently got off twenty-one 18 pounders, with carriages, empty cartridges, rammers, &c.

Upon hearing the noise and seeing the fire of the musketry, the captain ordered the Asia to fire a whole broadside towards that part of the fort, where the deceiving party had secured themselves, without intending any particular injury to the city. However some of the shot flew into the city, and did damage.

This affair happened at a very late hour, between twelve and two, and threw the citizens into the utmost consternation. The distress of the New-Yorkers was very much increased by a painful apprehension, that captain Vandeput would renew his firing upon the city. A removal of men,

women, children, and goods instantly commenced and continued for some time. Matters were, however so far adjusted, as to quiet the apprehensions of the people, in reference to their suffering further from the fire of the Asia. To prevent it the convention permitted Abraham Lott, Esq. to supply his majesty's ships, stationed at New-York, with all necessaries, as well fresh as salted, for the use of those ships.

In the month of November, the general assembly of Rhode-Island passed an act for the capital punishment of persons, who should be found guilty of holding a traitorous correspondence with the ministry of Great Britain, or any of their officers or agents, or of supplying the ministerial army or navy, employed against the United Colonies, with provisions, arms, &c. or of acting as pilots on board any of their vessels. They also passed an act for sequestering the estates of several persons, whom they considered as avowed enemies to the liberties of America.

On the night of the 26th of August, about 2000 American troops entrenched themselves on Plowed hill, within point blank shot of Bunker's hill; and notwithstanding a continual fire on them all

the day following, they had only 2 killed and 2 wounded. The British finding that their fire did not answer, relaxed, and after a while desisted entirely, and the Americans remained quiet in their new post.

In the beginning of September, general Washington received a very acceptable remittance of 7000 pounds weight of powder, which had been very scarce in the American army.

General Washington, having received pleasing accounts from Canada, being assured that neither Indians nor Canadians could be prevailed upon to act against the Americans, concerted the plan of detaching a body of troops from the head quarters, across the country to Quebec. He communicated the same to general Schuyler, who approved it, and all things were got in readiness.— They set out on the expedition on the 13th of September, under the command of colonel Arnold, assisted by the colonels Greene and Enos, and majors Meigs and Bigelow, the whole force amounting to about eleven hundred men.

On the 18th of October, Capt. Mowat destroyed 139 houses, 278 stores and other buildings, the far greater and better part of the town of Fal-

mouth, in the northern part of Massachusetts. The inhabitants in compliance with a resolve of the provincial congress, to prevent tories carrying out their effects, gave some violent obstruction to the loading of a mast ship, which drew upon them the indignation of the British admiral.

In the mean time, general Montgomery was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops; and being arrived at the *Ile aux Noix*, he drew up a declaration, which he sent among the Canadians, by col. Allen and major Brown, assuring them that the army was designed only against the English garrisons, and not against the country, their liberties or religion. He lays siege to St. John's, on the 17th of September.

Col. Allen and major Brown being on their return, after executing the commission, with which the general had intrusted them, the latter advised colonel Allen to halt, and proposed that the colonel should return to Longueil, procure canoes and cross the river St. Lawrence, a little north of Montreal, while he, the major, crossed a little to the south of the town, with near 200 men, as he had boats sufficient. The plan was approved, and col. Allen passed the river in the night. The major,

by some means, failed on his part, and col. Allen found himself the next morning, in a critical situation, but concluded on defending himself. Gen. Tarleton, learning how weak colonel Allen was, marched out against him with about forty regulars, together with Canadians, English and Indians, amounting to some hundreds. The colonel defended himself with much bravery; but being deserted by several, chiefly Canadians, and having had fifteen of his men killed, was under the necessity of surrendering with thirty-one effectives and seven wounded. He was directly put in irons.

On the 4th of October, a party of Canadians, who had joined the besiegers, before St. John's, intrenched themselves on the east side of the lake, on which the enemy sent an armed sloop with troops to drive them away; but the Canadians attacked the sloop with vigor, killed a number of the men, and obliged her to return to St. John's in a shattered condition.

On the 7th the main body of the army decamped from the south and marched to the north side of the fort. In the evening, they began to throw up a breast-work, in order to erect a battery of cannon and mortars. The continental troops bro't such a

spirit of liberty into the field, and thought so freely for themselves, that they would not bear either subordination or discipline. The generals could not, in truth, direct their operations, and would not have stayed an hour at their head, had they not feared that the example would be too generally followed, and so have injured the public service. There was a great want of powder, which with the disorderly behavior of the troops, was a damp to the hope of terminating the siege successfully. The prospect however soon brightened, for the Americans planned an attack upon Chamblee, and in batteaux carried down the artillery past the fort of St. John's. After a short demur, Chamblee surrendered to the majors Brown and Livingston. The greatest acquisition was about six tons of powder, which gave great encouragement to the provincials.

On the 3d of November, the garrison of St. John's, consisting of 500 regulars and 100 Canadians, after a siege of 46 days, surrendered by capitulation.

On the 12th of November, general Montgomery pressed on to Montreal, which not being capable of making any defence, governor Carleton

quitted it one day, and the American general entered it the next.

Notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, general Montgomery marched on for the capital, and on the 5th of December appeared before Quebec. The garrison consisted of about fifteen hundred, while the besiegers were said to consist of little more than half the number. Upon his appearing before the city, he sent forward a flag of truce, which was fired upon by order of Sir Guy Carleton. At this general Montgomery was so provoked, that the next day he wrote to Sir Guy, and in his letter, departed from the common mode of conveying his sentiments; he made use of threats and language which in his cooler moments he would have declined.

In spite of the inclemency of the season, he set about erecting works. His batteries were composed of snow and water, which soon became solid ice. He planted on them five pieces of ordnance, twelve and nine pounders, with one howitzer;—but the artillery was inadequate, and made no impression.

In the evening a council was held by all the commanding officers of colonel Arnold's detachment,

and a large majority were for storming the garrison, as soon as the men were provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand grenades. The plan of storming the garrison was wholly the work of general Montgomery, who, in the council of war held on the occasion, shewed the necessity, practicability, and importance of it in such a clear and convincing manner, that they unanimously agreed to the measure. The attempt had the appearance of rashness ; but the general was persuaded that men, who had behaved so bravely, would follow him, and that Sir Guy Carleton's forces would not fight, when actual service commenced.

On the 31st of December, the troops assembled at the hour appointed. They were to make the attack by the way of cape Diamond, at the general's quarters on the heights of Abraham, and were headed by the general himself. Colonel Arnold was made to attack through the suburbs of St. Roe. Colonel Livingston and major Brown were to make a false attack upon the walls, to the southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with the combustibles prepared for that purpose. The colonel was also to give the signals for the combination of the attacks which were to begin exactly at five o'clock. It is said

that captain Frazer, of the regulars, who was then on picket, going his rounds, saw the rockets fired off as signals, and forming a conjecture of what was going forward, beat to arms without orders, and so prepared the garrison for defence.

The different routes the assailants had to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevented the execution of Livingston's command. The general moved with his division, attended by a number of carpenters, to the pickets at cape Diamond. These were soon cut with the saws, and the general pulled them down himself. He then entered, attended by the carpenters and some of his officers.

On their entrance, their guides forsook them, which alarmed the general and other officers, who were unacquainted with the pass and situation of the enemy's artillery. However, they pressed on, and the general observing that the troops did not follow with spirit, called out, "Fie, for shame! will the New-York troops desert the cause in this critical moment? Will you not follow when your general leads? Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours." A few acted with resolution, advanced and attacked the guard house, when the enemy gave a discharge of grape-shot from their cannon, and al-

so of small arms, which proved fatal to the general, his aid-de-camp, captain Chefeman and others. The firing from the guard house ceased, by the enemy's quitting their post, and the opportunity offered for the assailants to push forward with success; but the deputy quarter-master-general, Campbell, with the rank of colonel, assumed the command, ordered a retreat, which took place, and the wounded were carried off to the camp.

The division under colonel Arnold was equally unsuccessful. The colonel received a wound in one of his legs from a musket ball, and was carried to the general hospital. His men maintained their ground till ten o'clock, when, all hopes of relief being over, they were obliged at last to surrender prisoners of war. In this attack the provincials lost upwards of one hundred men. General Montgomery was shot through both his thighs and his head. His body was taken up the next day, an elegant coffin was prepared and he was soon after decently interred. The general was tall and slender, well limbed, of easy, graceful, and manly address. He had the love, esteem, and confidence of the whole army; he was of a good family in Ireland, and had served with reputation in the late war with France. His excellent qualities and dis-

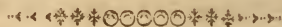
position procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his abilities, of public esteem. His death was considered as a greater loss to the American cause, than all the others with which it was accompanied.

When the continental troops had collected after the unsuccessful attack on Quebec, there arose a dispute who should command, and whether it was adviseable to raise the siege, or wait till a reinforcement should arrive. A council of war agreed, that colonel Arnold should command, and should continue the siege, or rather the blockade, which was accordingly done, apparently at no small risk, as they had not more than four hundred men fit for duty; but they retired about three miles from the city and posted themselves advantageously.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

The expedition against Ticonderoga,	A. D. 1775	
George Washington, Esq. elected commander in chief of the continental forces,	-	do.
The battle of Bunker's hill,	-	do.
Georgia accedes to the Union,	-	do.

The thirteen colonies united,	-	-	1775
The Asia man of war fires upon New-York,			do.
Col. Arnold's expedition into Canada,	-		do.
Falmouth destroyed, and on what account,			do.
Col. Allen taken prisoner, and put in irons,			do.
Gen. Montgomery appears before Quebec,			
and falls in an attack upon it,	-		do.



CHAPTER V.

LET us now return to Boston and its environs, and see what was transacted there. On the 15th of February, 1776, the strength of the ice having been tried in one place, and the frost continuing, Gen. Washington was desirous of embracing the season for passing over it from Cambridge side into Boston. He laid before the council of war, the following question: "A stroke well aimed at this critical juncture may put a final period to the war, and restore peace and tranquillity so much to be wished for; and therefore, whether part of Cambridge and Roxbury bays being frozen over, a general assault should not be made on Boston?"

General Ward opposed the idea, saying, "the attack must be made with a view of bringing on an engagement, or of driving the enemy out of Boston, and either end will be answered much better by possessing Dorchester heights." When the votes were called for, the majority were against the attack. It was however, determined to possess themselves of Dorchester heights, which was accordingly afterwards accomplished.

On the 5th of March, the British admiral informed general Howe, that if the Americans possessed those heights, he could not keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbor. Every design of general Howe to force the American works on the hill being frustrated, a council of war was called, when it was agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. The time that had been gained by the Americans for strengthening their works, took away all hopes of any successful attempts to be made on them by the British forces. The Americans had provided a great number of barrels, filled with stones, gravel and sand, which were placed round the works, ready to be rolled down, with a view to break the lines of any hostile advancing troops, when ascending the hills.

On the 7th of March, there was a general hurry and confusion in Boston, every one in the royal interest, being busy in preparing to quit the town, and to carry off every thing that was valuable. A flag was sent out from the select men acquainting Gen. Washington with the intention of the troops, and that general Howe was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he could retire uninterrupted. Gen. Washington bound himself under no obligation, but expressed himself in words, which admitted of a favorable construction; and intimated his good wishes for the preservation of Boston. At four o'clock, in the morning of the 17th, the embarkation was completed, and before ten the whole fleet was under sail, and the provincials soon after took possession of the town.

Let us now take a view of what was doing in Virginia. Towards the close of 1775, the Liverpool frigate arrived at Norfolk from Great Britain. Soon after the captain sent a flag of truce, and demanded to be informed whether his majesty's ship of war would be supplied from shore with provisions. The reply was in the negative; and the ships in the harbor being continually annoyed by the riflemen from behind the buildings and ware-

houses on the wharves, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying the town.

Previous notice was given, that the women, children, and other innocent persons might remove from the danger. The entrance of the new year was signalized at four o'clock in the morning, by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool, two sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the Dunmore, seconded by parties of sailors and marines, who landed and fired the houses next the water. Where buildings, instead of being covered with tile, slate, or lead, are covered with shingles, (thin light pieces of fir or cedar, half a yard in length, and about six inches broad) let the wind be ever so moderate, they will, upon being fired, be likely to communicate the conflagration to a distance, should the weather be dry, by the burning shingles being driven by the force of the flames to the tops of other houses.

Thus the whole town was reduced to ashes, that the Americans might have no shelter, should they be inclined to establish a post on the spot. A few men were killed and wounded at the burning of Norfolk, the most populous and considerable town for commerce of any in Virginia. It contained

about 6000 inhabitants, and many in affluent circumstances. The whole loss was estimated at more than three hundred thousand pounds sterling. However urgent the necessity, it was an odious sight to see Lord Dunmore, a principal actor in burning and destroying the best town in his government. The horrid distress brought upon numbers of innocent persons, by these operations, must wound the feelings of all who are not hardened by a party spirit.

While matters were thus transacting in America, the ministry at home gave into great expenses, to supply the army at Boston with fresh provisions and other articles. Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis, with the *Acteon* and *Thunder* bomb sailed from Portsmouth for Cork, to convoy the troops and transports there to America; but, owing to some delays, the fleet did not sail before the 13th of February. It consisted of forty-three sail, and about 2500 troops.

On the 14th of March, a fresh attempt was made in the house of lords, to prevent a continuance of hostilities, which so far succeeded, that in the May following, letters patent, by his majesty's orders passed under the great seal, constituting lord Howe and general Howe, to be his majesty's com-

missioners for restoring peace to the colonies in North America, and for granting pardon to such of his majesty's subjects there, then in rebellion, as should deserve the royal mercy. The same month commodore Hotham, with all the transports, having the first division of Hessians on board, sailed from St. Helen's for North America. But let us return to Canada, and attend to what was going forward in that quarter.

The blockade of Quebec was continued; but the fears of the Americans were great, as they had no more than 400 men to do duty, while there were upwards of three times the number in the city; they were in daily expectation that the besieged would fall out upon them. At length a small reinforcement arrived, which enabled them to take a little more rest, though the army was again soon reduced by the small pox that broke out among them.

Towards the end of May, several regiments arrived from England, and the British forces in Canada were estimated at about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was appointed to be at Three Rivers, half way between Quebec and Montreal. The Americans now formed a plan to surprize the

British troops, and for that purpose marched under cover of the night, on the 8th of June, in order to attack them a little before day-break. General Thompson, who commanded in this expedition, had procured a Canadian guide, who was either ignorant or unfaithful; for, a little before sunrise, he found his forces were out of the proper road. They returned, but losing their way by the side of the river, they were soon in view of some of the enemy's boats, between which and the flanking party several balls were exchanged. They then quickened their pace, and continued advancing in sight of the shipping, with drums beating and fifes playing, as they knew they were discovered. The general judging there was no possibility of passing the ships, without being exposed to all their fire, and yet determining to persist in the expedition, filed off at a right angle from the river. He meant to take a circuitous route, and enter the town on the backside. A bad morass intervened, the troops entered it, and the men were almost mired. About nine o'clock they came to a cleared spot, formed, and got into some order about ten. They advanced, but before the rear had got off the place of formation, the front received a heavy fire from the enemy, which struck them with terror. The fire

was instantly repeated, and though the balls flew over the heads of the troops without doing any material execution, they gave way, and crowded back, in the utmost confusion, which left them without a leader, so that every one did as he pleased.— They turned their faces up the river, and hastened through the swamps as fast as possible. About eleven they began to collect, and soon learned from the Canadians, that the enemy had sent a detachment, with several field pieces by land, to cut off their retreat, and a party by water to seize their boats. About four they were told that the enemy had secured the bridge before them, which it was supposed they must pass. They were also convinced that a large body were closely in their rear.— Col. Maxwell ordered all who were collected together to halt, called the officers to him and said, “What shall we do? Shall we fight those in the front or in the rear? Shall we tamely submit? or shall we turn off into the woods, and each man shift for himself?” The last proposal was preferred, but the enemy was so near, that the rear of the Americans was exposed to another tremendous fire, while going down the hill into the woods, but the balls flew over them without injuring any. The person, who was intrusted with the

care of the boats, had removed them in time to a secure place; so that the loss of the Americans which otherwise must have been much greater, amounted only to about two hundred prisoners.

The troops that escaped began to collect about ten the next day, and by noon were considerably numerous. They got along by degrees, and by sunset the day following arrived opposite Sorel.—Gen. Thompson and colonel Irwin, the second in command, with some other officers were taken.—The killed and wounded of the king's troops were trifling.

The king's forces having joined at Three Rivers, proceeded by land and water to Sorel, off which the fleet arrived in the evening, a few hours after the rear of the Americans had left it. A considerable body was landed, and the command given to general Burgoyne, with instructions to pursue the continental army up the river to St. John's, but without hazarding any thing till another column on his right should be able to co-operate with him.—Sir Guy Carleton's extraordinary precaution to put nothing to hazard, when not absolutely necessary, gave the Americans the opportunity of escaping. Had Burgoyne been instructed to press on with the

utmost expedition, great numbers of the provincials must have been made prisoners, and but few would have crossed Lake Champlain. Thus ended the expedition against Quebec.

To return to Boston. The British commodore, Banks, omitting to leave cruizers in the bay, afforded an opportunity to the American privateers of taking a number of Highlanders. Three days after his quitting it, the *George* and *Annabella* transports entered, after a passage of seven weeks from Scotland, during the course of which they had not an opportunity of speaking with a single vessel that could give them the smallest information of the British troops having evacuated Boston. They were attacked in the morning by four privateers, with whom they engaged till the evening, when the privateers bore away, and the transports pushed for Boston harbor, not doubting but they should there receive protection, either from a fort or ship of force stationed for the security of British vessels. They stood up for Nantasket road, when an American battery opened upon them, which was the first serious proof they had of the situation of affairs at the port to which they were destined. They were too far embayed to retreat, as the wind had died away, and the tide was half expended. The pri-

vateers with which they had been engaged, joined by two others, made towards them. They prepared for action; but, by some misfortune the *Annabella* got aground so far astern of the *George*, that the latter expected but a feeble support from her mulketry. About eleven at night, the privateers anchored close by, and hailed them to strike the British flag. The mate of the *George*, and every sailor on board, the captain excepted, refused to fight any longer; but the officers and privates of the 71st regiment stood to their quarters till all their ammunition was expended, when they were forced to yield. They had eight privates and a major killed besides 17 wounded. The number of Highlanders taken were 267 privates, 48 officers besides Lieut. Col. Campbell.

On the 25th of June, general Howe arrived at Sandy Hook in the *Greyhound* frigate. He soon received from governor Tryon a full account of the state and disposition of the province, as well as of the strength of the Americans. General Washington's army was small, rather below 9000 fit for duty. Of this little army it was said at least 2000 were wholly destitute of arms, and nearly as many with arms in such a condition as to be rather calculated to discourage than animate

the user. On the 2d of July, general Howe's troops took possession of Staten Island.

On the 1st of July, congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole upon the subject of Independence; but neither colonies nor members being unanimous, it was postponed till the next day. On the fourth, they had it under further consideration, when the Declaration of Independence was agreed to and adopted.—The title of it was :—

“A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS
ASSEMBLED.”

The preamble follows in these words : “ When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station, to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“ We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal—that they are endowed

by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed—that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. — But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.— Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.”

The declaration proceeds to give a history of repeated injuries and usurpation, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over those states.

On the 8th of July, at 12 o'clock, the declaration of independence was proclaimed at the state house in Philadelphia, amidst the greatest acclamations. The next day, in consequence of general orders, it was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army at New-York, and every where received with loud huzzas, and the utmost demonstrations of joy. The same evening the equestrian statue of the king was laid prostrate on the ground, and the lead of which it was made was doomed to be run into bullets.

On the 14th of August, Lord Dunmore quitted Virginia, and joined the British forces. He arrived with Lord Campbell and Sir Peter Parker off Staten Island. His Lordship continued on the coasts, and in the rivers of Virginia, till the closeness and filth of the small vessels, in which the fugitives were crowded, together with the heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of provisions, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havoc, especially among the negroes, many of

whom were swept away. When at length every place was shut against him, and neither water nor provisions were to be obtained, but at the expense of blood, it was found necessary to burn several of the smaller and least valuable vessels, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Americans, and to send the remainder with the exiled friends of government, to seek shelter in Florida, Bermuda, and the West-Indies.

Lord Howe arrived off Halifax towards the end of June, and from thence proceeded to New-York, and reached Staten Island by the 12th of July.— From thence he sent on shore by a flag to Amboy, a circular letter, together with a declaration to several of the late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his powers, and desiring them to publish the same as generally as possible, for the information of the people. But it was now too late to bring them back to the obedience of the mother country, since the declaration of independence had been every where solemnly read.

In the month of August, general Howe finding himself sufficiently strong to attempt something, resolved on making a descent on Long Island. The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for cov-

ering the descent, the army was landed without opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend, not far from the narrows, on the nearest shore to Staten Island.

On this island are several passes through the mountains or hills, which are easily defensible, being very narrow and the lands high and mountainous on each side. These were the only roads that could be passed from the south side of the hills to the American lines, except a road leading round the eastern end of the hills to Jamaica. An early attention had been given to the importance of these passes. To the second of them, the small American parties, patrolling on the coasts, retired upon the approach of the British boats with the troops. Lord Cornwallis pushed on immediately with the reserve and some other forces; but finding the Americans in possession of the pass, in compliance with orders he risked no attack.

The Americans had on each of the three passes or roads a guard of 800 men; and to the east of them in the wood, colonel Miles was placed with his battalion to guard the road from the south of the hills to Jamaica, and to watch the motion of the enemy on that side, with orders to keep a par-

ty constantly reconnoitering to and across the Jamaica road. The sentinels were so placed as to keep a continual communication between the three guards on the three roads.

On the 26th of August, general Howe, having fully settled the plan of surprize, general de Heister, with his Hessians took post at Flatbush in the evening, and composed the centre. About nine o'clock the same night, the principal army, containing much the greater part of the British forces, under the command of general Clinton, earl Percy, and lord Cornwallis, marched in order to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and so to turn the left of the Americans. Colonel Miles, whose duty it was to guard this road, suffered the British to march not less than six miles, till they were near two miles in the rear of the guards, before he discovered and gave notice of their approach.

The next day, before day-break, general Clinton arrived within half a mile of the road, when he halted, and settled his disposition for attack. One of his patrols fell in with a patrol of American officers on horseback, who were trepanned and made prisoners. General Sullivan, though in expecta-

tion that they would bring him intelligence, neglected sending out a fresh patrol on finding himself disappointed. Clinton, learning from the captured officers, that the Americans had not occupied the road, detached a battalion of light infantry to secure it, and advancing with his troops upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights that commanded the road.

About midnight, the guard, consisting all of New-Yorkers and Pennsylvanians, perceiving there was danger at hand, fled without firing a gun, and carried to general Parsons, who commanded them, the account of the enemy's advancing in great numbers by that road. Gen. Grant's movements were to divert the attention of the Americans from the left, where the main attack was to be made by general Clinton. By day light, general Parsons perceived, that the British were got through the wood, and were descending on the north side.— He took twenty of his fugitive guard, being all he could collect, and posted them on a height in front of the British, about half a mile distant, which halted their column, and gave time for lord Stirling to come up with his forces, amounting to about 1500, who possessed himself of a hill about two miles from the camp.

The engagement began soon after day-break, by the Hessians from Flatbush under general Heister, and by general Grant on the coast; and a warm cannonade, with a brisk fire of small arms, were eagerly supported on both sides for a considerable time. The Americans opposing general Heister were the first who were apprized of the march of the British troops under general Clinton. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, to recover their camp; but they were soon interrupted by the right wing under general Clinton, who, having halted and refreshed his forces after passing the heights, continued his march, and getting into the rear of the left of the Americans, about half past eight o'clock, attacked them with his light infantry and light dragoons, while quitting the heights to return to their lines. They were driven back, and again met the Hessians, and thus were they alternately chased and intercepted. In these desperate circumstances, some of their regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to the camps through all the dangers with which they were pressed.

The Americans under lord Stirling, who were engaged with general Grant, behaved with great bravery and resolution; but were so late in their

knowledge of what passed elsewhere, that their retreat was intercepted by some of the British troops, who, besides turning the hills and the American left, had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Several broke through the enemy's lines and got into the woods. General Parsons, with a small party, escaped by doing the same; numbers threw themselves into the marsh at Gorvan's cove, some were drowned, and others perished in the mud. However a considerable body escaped to the lines. The nature of the country and the variety of the ground, occasioned a continuance and extension of small engagements, pursuits and slaughter, which lasted for many hours before the scene closed.

The British troops displayed great valor and activity on this occasion. So impetuous was their ardor, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained, by general Howe's orders, from attacking the American lines. They would probably have entered them, had not the works been completed the night before the action, by closing an opening on the right, and placing an abbatis before it. The Americans were most completely surprized and effectually entrapped. Colonel Smallwood's

Maryland regiment suffered extremely, and was almost cut to pieces, losing 259 men. The loss was much regretted, an account of their being young men of the best families in the country. All who were engaged in the actions of this day did not display the same courage; nor was it to be expected from such raw troops. Many escaped from the want of discipline; for they broke at the sight of danger and saved themselves by flight, whereas otherwise they must have been killed or taken.— Large bodies however were captured. Gen. Sullivan, lord Stirling, and general Udell, besides three colonels, three majors, eighteen captains, forty-three lieutenants, eleven ensigns, an adjutant, three surgeons, and two volunteers, were made prisoners, together with 1006 privates, in all 1097. As among the prisoners the wounded were included, an allowance of between four and five hundred for killed, drowned, perished in the woods, the mud and the like, may be reckoned about the mark.— The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, did not exceed three hundred and eighteen, of whom only sixty-one were killed. After the battle, the Americans retreated to New-York, to which place they crossed over under the favor of a fog, taking with them all their military stores, and leaving no-

thing behind them but a few pieces of cannon and some trifling matters.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

General Howe evacuates Boston,	A. D. 1776
Norfolk in Virginia burnt,	- - do.
Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis sail for America.	- - - - do.
The blockade of Quebec continued,	do.
The Americans raise the blockade, and retreat,	- - - - do.
A number of Highlanders taken in Boston Bay,	- - - - do.
Declaration of American Independence,	do.
General Howe lands the royal army on Long Island, and drives the Americans off it,	do.



CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the affair of Long Island, endeavors were used by the Americans to keep up the spirits of the people, by puffing accounts of the extraor-

dinary bravery of their troops, and the destruction they made of the enemy. But that matters were not very promising appears from a letter of general Mercer, who commanded the flying camp, dated September 4th, wherein he writes: "Gen. Washington has not, so far as I have seen, five thousand men to be depended on for the service of a campaign; and I have not one thousand. Both our armies are composed of raw militia, perpetually fluctuating between the camp and their farms, poorly armed and still worse disciplined. These are not a match for, were their numbers equal to, veteran troops, well fitted and urged on by able officers. Numbers and discipline must at last prevail. Giving soldiers, or even the lower orders of mankind, the choice of officers will forever mar the discipline of armies."

Gen. Howe, having fully prepared for a descent on New-York island, embarked a strong division of the army under the command of gen. Clinton and others, in boats at the head of Newtown inlet, and at another place higher up, where they could not be observed by the Americans who expected the attack would be made on the side next to the East-river, and had therefore thrown up lines and works to defend themselves.

On the 15th of September, about eleven o'clock; Gen. Howe's troops landed, under the cover of five ships of war, in two divisions, the Hessians in one place and the British in another. As soon as Gen. Washington heard the firing of the men of war, he rode with all dispatch towards the lines; but to his great mortification, found the troops posted in them retreating with the utmost precipitation—and those ordered to support them, Parson's and Fellows' Brigade, flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion. His attempts to stop them were fruitless, though he drew his sword, threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols.

On the appearance of a small party of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder was increased, and they ran off without firing a single shot, leaving the general in a hazardous situation, so that his attendants to extricate him out of it, caught the bridle of his horse, and gave him a different direction.

Three large ships were stationed in the North river, opposite to those on the east river, and both kept up a constant cannonading with grape-shot and langrage quite across the island. The Hessians

upon their landing, seized and secured, in a neighboring building, as enemies, some persons who had been placed there to serve as guides, which for a while subjected them to a difficulty.

When the regulars were completely landed, they advanced towards the Kingsbridge road. The American brigades, which had fled on the enemy's approaching the lines, did not stop till they were met by col. Glover's and five other brigades, who were hastening down to them. As soon as they joined, the whole marched forward, and took post on some heights, when suddenly 8000 of the enemy appeared on the next height, and halted. Gen. Washington at first consented that his troops should march forward, and give them battle; but, on a second consideration, he gave counter orders, as he could not have any dependence on the militia and the flying camp, which composed half the number then present. When the Americans retired and no prospect of action remained, the English took possession of New-York.

Gen. Washington, while moving the army from New-York into the country, was careful to march and form the troops so as to make a front towards the enemy from East Chester almost to White

Plains, on the east side of the highway, thereby to secure the march of those who were behind on their right and to defend the removal of the sick, cannon and other matters of consequence; but the want of many necessary articles considerably retarded their march.

On the 25th of October, the royal army moved in two columns, and took a position they thought the most advantageous. On the 28th an action took place between the contending forces, at White Plains, and though not a general engagement, both parties met with considerable loss. The Americans sustained the various attacks made on their lines with becoming firmness.

On the last day of October, General Howe, being joined by the troops from Lord Percy, made dispositions for attacking the American lines early the next morning; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented the execution at the time appointed, and it was not attempted afterwards, though the day proved fair. Gen. Washington gained intelligence of his danger from a deserter, when he drew off most of his troops at night, totally evacuated his camp early in the morning of the first of November, and took higher ground towards the North Castle district; leaving a strong

rear guard on the heights and in the woods of White Plains. Orders were given by Gen. Howe to attack this corps ; but the execution of it was prevented by a violent rain.

Though the affair at White Plains made so much noise at the time in which it happened, the Americans soon after retreated, leaving the English in possession of New-York and the Jerseys. Gen. Lee is taken prisoner, and carried to New-York.

December 26, Gen. Washington made a descent on Jersey, and at Trenton, surprised and took prisoners 23 Hessian officers, and 886 men. In the evening he repassed the Delaware with his prisoners.

From this period to the month of June, 1777, nothing passed in Jersey but one continued scene of blood and slaughter among detached parties, without any decisive advantages being gained by either side. On the 30th of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, the English began to cross over to Staten Island, and the rear guard passed at two in the afternoon, without the least appearance of an enemy. Thus they evacuated the Jerseys, to enter upon new conquests, in hopes of reducing the United States, to unconditional submission.

Let us now turn to the British operations in the North, which were taken out of the hands of Sir Guy Carleton, and committed to the charge of Gen. Burgoyne. The forces allotted to them, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to more than 7000 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. A powerful train of brass artillery was furnished, probably the finest, and the most excellently supplied, as to officers and private men, that had ever been destined to second the operations of an army not exceeding the present number. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition; the troops were in the highest spirits; admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The main body under Gen. Burgoyne proceeded up lake Champlain, landed and encamped at no great distance from Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congress, and afterwards, in compliance with their customs, gave them a war feast. He made a speech to them, calculated to excite their ardor in the common cause and at the same time to repress their barbarity. He conjured them to kill those only who opposed them in arms; that old men, women, children and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they

should scalp those only whom they had slain in fair opposition ; but that under no pretence should they scalp the wounded, or even dying, much less kill persons in that condition : they were promised a compensation for prisoners, but informed that they should be called to account for scalps.

On the near approach of the right wing of the royal army on the Ticonderoga side, the Americans abandoned their works towards Lake George, and left Gen. Phillips to possess the advantageous post of Mount Hope, without making any resistance, which would have been ineffectual, and could have answered no good purpose. That apparent supineness and want of vigor, with which they were chargeable, was not occasioned by cowardice, but actual imbecility.

Gen. Burgoyne's troops proceeded with much expedition, in the construction of their works, the bringing up of artillery, stores and provisions ; but what gave the greatest alarm, was, the rapid progress they made in clearing a road, and getting artillery on Sugar Hill. When once they had erected a battery on this height, only a few hours more would have been required to have invested the Americans on all sides.

Gen. St. Clair having received intelligence by spies, that in twenty-four hours the investure would be completed, when he should be cut off from all possibility of succor, Gen. Schuyler, not having force sufficient at Fort Edward to relieve him, he determined to evacuate his posts, though he knew it would produce such astonishment as had not happened since the commencement of the war. He plainly perceived, that if he continued there, he should lose the army, but save his character; whereas, by abandoning the place, he should save the army and lose his character. A council of war was called, and it was unanimously concluded upon to evacuate as soon as possible.

At two o'clock in the morning of July the 6th, Gen. St. Clair left Ticonderoga. About three, the troops were put in motion for the evacuation of the Mount; but Fermoy having set fire to his house, contrary to positive orders, the whole Mount was enlightened by it, so that the enemy had an opportunity of seeing every thing that passed, which damped the spirits of the Americans, and induced them to push off in a disorderly manner.

In the morning, gen. Frazer, perceiving the evacuation, and that the Americans were retiring, commenced a pursuit with his brigade consisting of

the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Gen. Reidesel, with most of his Brunswickers, was ordered by Gen. Burgoyne to join in the pursuit either to support Frazer, or to act separately. The latter continued the pursuit through the day, and receiving intelligence, that St. Clair's rear was at no great distance, he ordered his troops to lie that night on their arms. In the morning he came up with the Americans, commanded by col. Warner, who had, besides his own, the regiments of colonels Francis and Hale. The British advanced boldly, and the two bodies formed within about 60 yards of each other. Frazer began the attack about 7 o'clock, expecting every moment to be joined by Reidesel, and apprehending, that if he delayed, the enemy would escape. Hale being apprized of the danger never brought his regiment to the charge, but fled; so that Warner could bring into action no more than about 700 men. The conflict was bloody; Francis fell fighting with great bravery, and Warner, his officers and soldiers, behaved with much resolution and gallantry; so that the British broke and gave way, but soon formed again, and running on the Americans with their bayonets, the latter were put into no small confusion, which was increased by the criti-

cal arrival of gen. Reidesel with the foremost of his column, consisting of the chasseur company, and eighty grenadiers and light infantry, who were immediately led into action. The Americans now fled on all sides. Gen. St. Clair heard when the firing began, and would have supported Warner, but the troops that were nearest two militia regiments, would not obey orders, and the others were at too great a distance. Hale, who had attempted to get off by flight, fell in with an inconsiderable party of British, and surrendered himself and a number of his men prisoners. The Americans lost 324 in killed, wounded and prisoners, and among the last were 12 officers. The royal troops including British and German, had not less than 183 killed and wounded.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, surprised general Washington, and spread astonishment and terror through the New-England states. The general was led to believe that the garrison was much stronger. The Massachusetts' general court were faulty, in not having seasonably forwarded their quota of troops, agreeable to the requisition of congress.

Let us now return to see what was doing by general Howe. The British fleet and army which

lay at Sandy hook, were destined for the reduction of Philadelphia, in pursuance of a plan which had been settled between sir William Howe and lord George Germain, but did not sail till the 23d of July. The land forces consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps, called Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse, estimated all together at about 16,000 men. The fleet consisted of 267 sail. Gen. Howe's thus abandoning Burgoyne, equally excited the astonishment of friends and enemies.

On the 14th of June, the congress resolved that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

It was not till the third of September that the royal army began to move forward. On its advancing near to the Americans, these abandoned their ground, perceiving that it would not answer their first expectation. They crossed Brandywine at Chad't ford, and took possession of the heights on the east side of it, with an evident intention of

disputing the passage of the river ; but the superior numbers of the regular forces at last, obliged them to retire.

A little after sunrise on the 11th of September, a warm engagement commenced, which lasted till the approach of night. On this occasion, the Americans shewed great resolution and courage ; but a few hours more of day light might have so animated the conquerors, notwithstanding their fatigue, as to have occasioned those exertions which would have produced a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans. It was said by the Americans themselves, that in this action, their loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was about twelve or thirteen hundred ; and that the royal army did not suffer on their part, short of seven or eight hundred in killed and wounded. The Americans also lost ten small field pieces, and howitzer, of which all but one were brass.

The evening after the battle, a party of regulars was sent to Wilmington, who took the governor of the Delaware state, Mr. M'Kinley, out of his bed, and possessed themselves of a shallop lying in the creek, loaded with the rich effects of some of the inhabitants, together with the public records of the county, and a large quantity of public and pri-

vate money, besides articles of plate and other things.

After various motions of the royal army, on the 26th of September, general Howe made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, with a small part of his army, where he was most cordially received by the generality of the Quakers, and a few other royalists. The bulk of his troops were left in and about Germantown, a village forming one continued street for near two miles. Gen. Washington's army was encamped near Shippach-creek, about eighteen miles from thence. The congress on the loss of Philadelphia removed to Yorktown.

To return to the northern army, under the command of general Burgoyne. Several actions took place, between the Americans and regulars, in the intended march of the British towards Albany.— In these different skirmishes, the regulars suffered very considerably, as well as the Indians in their interest. The principal action happened at Bennington, in which the Americans took from the English 4 brass field pieces, twelve drums, 250 dragoon swords, 4 ammunition waggons, and about 700 prisoners, among whom was lieutenant-colonel Baum.

On the 30th of August, the English commander had occasion to write to general Gates, and in his letter complained of inhumanity exercised towards the provincial soldiers in the king's service, after the affair of Bennington, and then hinted at retaliation. Gen. Gates, in his answer of Sept. the 2d, invalidated the charge, and then retorted the Indian cruelties, which he imputed to Burgoyne, saying, "Miss M'Rea, a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer in your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and there murdered and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents, with their six children, were all scalped and treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their once happy and peaceful dwellings. The miserable fate of Miss M'Rea was particularly aggravated, by her being dressed to receive her promised husband, when she met her murderer employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women and children, have perished by the hands of the Russians, to whom it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood." Gen. Burgoyne, in his reply of the 6th of the same month, vindicated his own character; shewed that

Miss M'Rea's death was no premeditated barbarity, and declared that every other charge exhibited by general Gates, was illfounded and erroneous.

The murder of Miss M'Rea exasperated the Americans, and from that and other cruelties occasion was taken to blacken the royal party and army. The people detested that army which accepted of such Indian aid, and loudly reprobated that government which could call in such auxiliaries. General Gates was not deficient in aggravating, by several publications, the excesses that had taken place, and with no small advantage to his own military operations.

On the 18th of September, general Burgoyne, having been very short of provisions, at length received a supply for about thirty days, together with other necessary stores. He then resolved upon passing the Hudson's river with the army, which having executed, he encamped on the heights and on the plains of Saratoga. The Americans, observing the motions of the royal army, marched out 3000 strong, in order to attack him, but found that to be prudentially impracticable. However, they drew up in full view of him, and there remained till dark.

The next day some of the American scouting parties fell in with those of the British, and with great boldness began the attack about one o'clock at noon. The firing was no sooner heard by general Phillips, than he made his way with a part of the artillery, through the woods, and rendered essential services. Each commander supported, reinforced, and ordered different regiments to engage. The battle was hot and obstinate on both sides, till about half past two o'clock, when it ceased for half an hour. The American and British lines being fully formed, the action was renewed, and became general at three. Both armies appeared determined to conquer or die, and there was one continual blaze of fire for three hours without intermission; the report of the muskets resembled an incessant roll-beating on a number of drums. The Americans and British alternately drove and were driven by each other. Three British regiments, the 20th, the 21st, and the 62d, were in a constant and close fire for near four hours. All suffered considerable loss: the 62d, which was 500 strong when it left Canada, was now reduced to less than 60 men, and to four or five officers. Few actions have been characterised, by more obstinacy in attack or defence, than was the present.

Both parties claimed the victory, though neither had much advantage to boast of.

From this time till near the middle of October, battles and skirmishes continually took place between the two armies and the British were sadly reduced and weakened. On the 13th, general Burgoyne, finding that the troops had only three days provisions in store on short allowance, and no apparent means of retreat remaining, called into council all the generals, field officers, and captains commanding troops. There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp for holding the council of war, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shot; and while the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound ball crossed the table. By the unanimous advice of the council, the general was induced to open a treaty with general Gates. The first proposals of the latter were rejected, and the sixth article with disdain, where it was required that the British army should lay down their arms in their entrenchments. Burgoyne's counter proposals were unanimously approved, and being sent to Gates were agreed to, on the 15th, without any material alteration.

General Gates being fearful of the consequences that might follow, should general Vaughan with

his troops come up in time to Burgoyne's assistance, determined upon bringing the matter to an immediate issue. On the morning of the 17th, he got every thing in readiness for attacking the royal army. This done he took out his watch, the time agreed for signing being come. He then sent colonel Groaton on horseback to Burgoyne with a message requiring the general to sign, and allowed him no more than ten minutes to go and return. He was back in time, the treaty was signed, all hostile appearances ceased, and the Americans marched into the British lines to the tune of Yankee doodle. They were kept there until the royal army had marched out of their lines, and deposited their arms at the place appointed by the treaty.

The delicacy with which this business was conducted reflects the highest honor upon the American general. It intimated that he was sensible of the mortification attending a reverse of fortune, and that he was unwilling to aggravate the painful feelings of the royal troops, by admitting the American soldiers to be eye witnesses to the degrading spectacle of piling their arms. When the arms were deposited agreeable to treaty, the royal troops were served with bread by the Americans,

as they had not any left, or flour to make it. They had only one day's salt meat remaining.

The treaty was styled, "A convention between lieutenant-general Burgoyne and major-general Gates" Among other articles it was stipulated, "That the troops under lieutenant-general Burgoyne shall march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the royal army to Great-Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever general Howe shall so order. The officers' baggage not to be molested or searched. During the stay of the troops in the Massachusetts bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and to be allowed to wear their side-arms."

The return signed by general Burgoyne, at the time of the convention, made the British army including Germans, amount to 5791, which was very short of the number they had on setting out

from Canada. The train of brass artillery, consisting of 42 pieces, was a fine acquisition to the Americans. There were also 4647 muskets, 6000 dozen of cartridges, besides shot, carcases, shells, &c.

Had Clinton advanced in time, Burgoyne would have been saved; but the troops he dispatched under general Vaughan amused themselves with burning Esopus, a fine village on the North river below Catskill. General Vaughan with a flood tide, might have reached Albany, in four hours, as there was no force to hinder him. Had he proceeded thither, and burnt the stores, Gates, as he himself afterwards declared, must have retreated into New-England.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

Wretched state of the armies under the generals Washington and Gates,	-	A. D. 1776.
New-York taken by the royal forces,	-	do.
The battle of the White Plains,	-	do.
A body of Hessians defeated at Trenton,	-	do.
General Howe embarks his army from Staten Island,	-	A. D. 1777.
General Burgoyne proceeds to Crown Point,	-	do.

Americans from Mud-Island. He also detached a strong body of Hessians across the river, who were to reduce the fort at Redbank, while the ships and batteries on the other side were to attack Mud-Island. Count Donop, in the service of the English, was intrusted with the expedition against Redbank, but he failed in the attempt. He was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, several of his best officers were killed or disabled, and the Hessians, after a desperate engagement, were repulsed. The second in command being also dangerously wounded, the detachment was brought off by lieutenant-colonel Linfing. It is said that the royal detachment lost, on this occasion, between four and five hundred men.

The expedition against Mud-Island met with better success, the Americans being driven from thence, and forced to retire to Redbank.

On the night of the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis marched with a considerable force, and the next day crossed the Delaware, in his way to Redbank, which the Americans abandoned, leaving behind them the artillery and a considerable quantity of cannon ball. The English generals confessed, that the long and unexpected opposition they received from Redbank and Mud-Island, broke

in upon their plans for the remainder of the campaign.

Sunday May 3d, 1778, Mr. Simeon Deane, brother to Silas Deane arrived express from France, with very important dispatches. The congress was immediately convened, and the dispatches opened and read, among which to their inexpressible joy, were a treaty of commerce and a treaty of alliance, concluded between his most Christian Majesty the King of France and the United States of America. The treaties the next day were duly weighed and considered separately, and upon each it was unanimously resolved, "That the same be and is hereby ratified." The next resolution was "That this congress entertain the highest sense of the magnanimity and wisdom of his most Christian majesty, so strongly exemplified in the treaty of amity and commerce, and the treaty of alliance; and the commissioners representing these states, at the court of France, are directed to present the grateful acknowledgments of this congress to his most Christian majesty, for his truly magnanimous conduct respecting these states, in the said generous and disinterested treaties, and to assure his majesty, on the part of this congress, it is sincerely wished, that

the friendship, so happily commenced between France and these United States may be perpetual."

The congress, after receiving the treaties, had a stronger feeling of their own importance than before, and resolved, "That the commissioners appointed for the courts of Spain, Tuscany, Vienna, and Berlin, should live in such style and manner at their respective courts, as they may find suitable and necessary to support the dignity of their public character."

On the fifth of May, they agreed to a draught of "An address to the inhabitants of the United States of America." In this publication, when they come to the French treaty, they say, "You have still to expect one severe conflict. Your foreign alliances though they secure your independence, cannot secure your country from desolation, your inhabitants from plunder, your wives from insult or violation, nor your children from butchery. Foiled in the principal design, you must expect to feel the rage of disappointed ambition.—Arise then, to your tents, and gird you for battle! It is time to turn the headlong current of vengeance upon the head of the destroyer. They have filled up the measure of their abominations, and like ripe fruit must soon drop from the tree. Although

much is done, yet much remains to do. Expect not peace, while any corner of America is in the possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of Promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Your brethren at the extremities of the continent already implore your friendship and protection. It is your duty to grant their request. They hunger and thirst after liberty. Be it yours to dispense to them the heavenly gift. And what is there now to prevent it?"

In the month of May the American frigate Randolph, of 36 guns, and 305 men, sailed on a cruise from Charlestown. The Yarmouth, of 64 guns, discovered her and five other vessels, and came up with her in the evening. Capt. Vincent hailed the Randolph to hoist colours, or he would fire into her; on which she hoisted American, and immediately gave the Yarmouth her broadside, which was returned, and in about a quarter of an hour she blew up. Four men saved themselves upon a piece of her wreck, and subsisted for five days upon nothing more than rain water which they sucked from a piece of blanket they had picked up.— On the fifth, the Yarmouth being in chase of a ship, happily discovered them waving. The captain humanely suspended the chase, hauled up to

the wreck; got a boat out and brought them on board.

On the 7th of May, the second battalion of British light infantry, in flat boats, attended by three gallies and other armed boats, proceeded up the Delaware, in order to destroy all the American ships and vessels lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton. They landed the next morning, advanced towards Bordentown, drove the Americans that opposed them, entered the town and burnt four store houses containing provisions, tobacco, some military stores and camp equipage. The country being alarmed and a strong body collected, the battalion crossed to the Pennsylvania shore. The next day they resumed their operations, and at sunset embarked and returned to Philadelphia. While upon the expedition, they burnt two frigates, one of 32, the other of 38 guns; nine large ships, three privateer sloops of 16 guns each, three of ten guns, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners. Two of the ships were loaded with Tobacco, Rum, and military stores.

General Howe was succeeded in the command of the army by Sir Henry Clinton, who arrived at Philadelphia on the eighth of May.

On the sixth of February the treaties between France and the United States were signed. The alliance between these two powers was known to the British ministry soon after they were signed. Mr. Fox, in a debate in the house of commons five days afterwards, asserted, that the number of men lost to the army, in killed, disabled, deserted and from various other causes, from the commencement of hostilities with America to that period, amounted to above twenty thousand.

On the 17th, Lord North introduced his conciliatory propositions. His plan was to enable the crown to appoint commissioners to treat with the colonists concerning the means of putting an end to those unhappy contests; for which five persons were invested with ample powers. His lordship said in his speech, that general Howe had, in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign, not only in goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but also in point of numbers, been much superior to the American army that opposed him in the field; that Gen. Burgoyne had, until the affair at Bennington, been in numbers, nearly twice as strong as the army of the enemy, that he promised a great army should be sent out;

and that a great army had accordingly been sent out, to the amount of 60,000 men and upwards.

The speech was long, able and eloquent, and kept him up two full hours. It was heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation. A dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded. Astonishment, dejection and fear, overclouded the whole assembly. It was conjectured that some powerful motive had induced ministry to adopt such an alteration of measures. This idea was confirmed by the positive assertion of Mr. Fox, that a treaty had been signed at Paris between the colonies and France, by which she recognized their independence.

On the 13th of March, the French ambassador delivered a rescript to Lord Weymouth, in which he informed the court of London, that the king had signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States of America. The knowledge of this transaction was communicated under the parade of cultivating the good understanding between France and Great-Britain.

On the 21st of March, a public audience and reception were given to the American commissioners, Messrs. Franklin, Deane and Lee, by the

French monarch. They were introduced by Mons. Vergennes, and received by the king with the usual formalities and ceremonies. This striking acknowledgment of the plenipotentiaries from the United States, mortified the ministry and crown of Great-Britain, and may be pronounced the political phenomenon of Europe. The day before it was exhibited, the French ambassador, in consequence of orders to quit London, set out for Paris.

From this time, the courts of London and Versailles were busied in fitting out their fleets, which met each other in the month of July. The English fleet was commanded by the admirals Keppel, Palliser and Harland. But as the action of that day is amply related in our history of England, we shall not introduce in these annals of America, an account of so foul a tarnish to the British flag.

In the beginning of June, the Trident, British man of war arrived in the Delaware, with the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden and governor Johnstone, three of the commissioners for restoring peace between Great-Britain and America.

On the 18th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, the British evacuated Philadelphia, Mr. Eden having brought with him secret instructions

from England for that purpose. They proceeded to Gloucester point, three miles down the river, and before ten the whole had passed in safety across the Delaware into New-Jersey.

When intelligence of Sir Henry Clinton's having evacuated Philadelphia reached the American head-quarters, general Washington took his measures accordingly. Several skirmishes happened between the Americans and the regulars with various success, till on the 30th of June the royal army arrived in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook. During the course of the march from Philadelphia, the royal army was much reduced; upwards of 800 having deserted, a great number of whom were Hessians.

On the 5th of July, the army passed over a bridge of boats across a narrow channel to Sandy Hook and were afterwards carried up to New-York. On the 7th Lord Howe received advice, that the squadron from Toulon was arrived at Virginia. Count d'Estaing anchored on the 8th at night at the entrance of the Delaware. The next morning he weighed and sailed towards the Hook, and on the evening of the 11th anchored without it. Had not bad weather and unexpected impediments prevented, the Count must have sur-

prised Howe's fleet in the Delaware, as the latter would not have had time to escape after being apprised of his danger. The destruction of the fleet must have been the consequence of such a surprisal, and that must have occasioned the inevitable loss of the royal army, which would have been so enclosed by the French squadron on the one side and the American forces on the other, that the Saratoga Catastrophe must have been repeated. Lord Howe's fleet consisted only of 6 sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Count d'Estaing had twelve ships of the line, some of which were of great force and weight.

On the 22d of July, the count sailed from Sandy Hook, when about twenty sail of vessels bound to New-York fell into his possession. They were chiefly prizes taken from the Americans; but had he stayed a few days longer, Admiral Byron's fleet must have fallen a defenceless prey into their hands. That squadron had met with unusual bad weather, and being separated in different storms, and lingering through a tedious passage, arrived scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted or otherwise damaged in various degrees of distress, upon different and remote parts of the American coast. Be-

tween the departure of d'Estaing and the 30th July, the *Renown* of 50 guns from the West Indies, the *Raisable* and *Centurion* of 64 and the *Cornwall* of 74 guns, all arrived singly at Sandy Hook. By d'Estaing's speedy departure, a number of provision ships from Cork escaped also, together with their convoy. They went up the Delaware within fifty miles of Philadelphia after Lord Howe had quitted the river, not having obtained any information of what had happened. The British ministry had neglected countermanding their destination, though orders for the evacuation of Philadelphia had been sent off so early, as to have admitted of their receiving, before sailing, fresh instructions where to have steered. Great rejoicings were made at New-York, upon their safe arrival, especially as provisions were much wanted both by the fleet and army.

Let us now quit the military operations for the present and take a view of the pending negotiations. Governor Johnstone meaning to avail himself of former connexions, endeavored to commence or renew a private correspondence with several members of congress, and other persons of consideration. In his letters to them he used a freedom with the authority under which he acted,

not customary with those intrusted with delegated power, and afforded such a degree of approbation to the Americans in the past resistance they had made, as is seldom granted by negotiators to their opponents. In a letter to Joseph Reed, Esq. of April 11th, he said, "The man, who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which their contest has brought forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind."

On the 16th of June, he wrote to Robert Morris, Esq.—"I believe the men, who have conducted the affairs of America, incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk, and I think that whoever ventures should be secured; at the same time that honor and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think that Washington and the president have a right to every favor that a grateful nation can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and the devastations of war."

On Sunday the 21st of June, Mr. Reed received a written message from Mrs. Ferguson, expressing a desire to see him on business, which could not be committed to writing. On his attending in the evening, agreeable to her appointment, after some previous conversation, she enlarged upon the great talents and amiable qualities of Gov. Johnstone, and added, that in several conversations with her, he had expressed the most favorable sentiments of Mr. Reed ; that it was particularly wished to engage his interest to promote the object of the British commissioners, viz. a re-union of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment ; and that in such case it could not be deemed unbecoming or improper in the British government to take a favorable notice of such conduct ; and that, in this instance, Mr. Reed might have ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift.

Mr. Reed finding an answer was expected, replied, " I am not worth purchasing ; but such as I am, the king of Great-Britain is not rich enough to do it." However right the principles might be, on which this insinuating scheme of conciliation was adopted, its effects were inimical.

On the 9th of July, congress ordered, "That all letters received by members of congress from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great-Britain, of a public nature, be laid before congress." The preceding letters being communicated, and Mr. Reed making a declaration of what had passed within his knowledge, congress resolved, "That the same cannot be considered but as direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the congress; that as congress feel, so they ought to demonstrate, the highest and most pointed indignation against such daring and atrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity; and that it is incompatible with the honor of congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esq. especially to negotiate with him upon affairs, in which the cause of liberty is concerned."

The proceedings in this business were expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was ordered to be signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New-York.

These proceedings produced a very angry and violent declaration from governor Johnstone, in which the immediate operations of passion and dis-

appointment were too conspicuous. The language of his publication but poorly agreed with the high and flattering compliments he had so lately lavished on the Americans in those very letters, which were the subjects of the present contest. It was dated the 26th of August, and transmitted to congress; together with the declaration of the same date from Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, which went to a solemn and total disavowal, so far as related to the present subject, of their having had any knowledge, directly or indirectly, of those matters specified by congress.

Thus were all hopes of further negotiation with congress at an end. Had Lord North, and the rest of the ministry then in being, adopted these corrupting measures in the more early part of the American disputes, it is possible he might have succeeded; but to attempt it at a time, when the spirits of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, by their new alliance with France, was surely little short of folly and madness.

On the 6th of August, the honorable Sieur Gerard was introduced to the congress, in quality of minister plenipotentiary, who produced a letter from his master the king of France to his very

dear great friends and allies ; and the compliments Mons. Gerard received on this occasion, were very different from thote sentiments the Americans lately entertained of their now faithful allies !

On the 14th of September, congress proceeded to the election of a minister plenipotentiary to the court of France, when Dr. Benjamin Franklin was elected by ballot. His instructions were dated the 26th of October, and by them he was directed to obtain, if possible, the French king's consent to expunge two of the articles of the treaty of commerce. The doctor was to inculcate the certainty of ruining the British fishery on the banks of New-Foundland, and consequently the British marine, by reducing Halifax and Quebec.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

Count Donop repulsed in the attack upon	
Red Bank,	- - - A. D. 1777.
Mud Island reduced,	- - - do.
The Randolph American frigate blown	
up,	- - - A. D. 1778.
Sir Henry Clinton succeeds general Howe in	
America,	- - - do.

The treaties between France and the United States signed,	-	-	-	A. D. 1778.
Lord North's conciliatory propositions,	-	do.		
Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, have a public audience at the French court,	-	do.		
Congress receive the treaties concluded between France, and the United States, which they unanimously ratify,	-	do.		
The British army evacuates Philadelphia,	-	do.		
Skirmishes between the English and Americans,	-	-	-	do.
The British forces arrive at Sandy Hook,	-	do.		
Governor Johnstone attempts to corrupt certain members of the congress,	-	-	do.	
Dr. Franklin appointed minister plenipotentiary at the court of France,	-	-	do.	



CHAPTER VIII.

THE campaign in the northern states having produced nothing advantageous to the British, and the winter being the proper season for southern expeditions, Sir Henry Clinton concluded upon

turning his arms against Georgia. He might propose to himself the reduction of all the southern states, and he strongly inclined to it, by reason that these states produced the most valuable articles of commerce for the European market, and carried on a considerable export trade, which appeared no otherwise affected by the war, than as it suffered from the British cruisers. The rice was devoted to the service of its enemies, while it was wanted for the support of the royal fleet and army in America. A plan of operations was concerted with general Prevost, who commanded in East-Florida; and it was intended, that Georgia should be invaded both on the north and south sides at the same time.

This expedition was committed to colonel Campbell, and the forces appointed to act under him, amounted to full 2500, which sailed from Sandy Hook, on the 27th of November, being escorted by a small squadron under commodore Hyde Parker. The fleet arrived at the isle of Tibee, near the mouth of the Savannah, and on the 29th of December the troops effected a landing. They were no sooner landed, than they were led to attack the fort, which the British persisted in with so much spirit and rapidity, that the Americans re-

treated with precipitation and disorder. No victory was ever more complete—thirty-eight officers, and 415 non-commissioned and privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition, and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all within the space of a few hours, in the possession of the British troops.

The 30th of December was appointed as a thanksgiving day, by order of congress. The affairs of the United States were at this period in a most distressed, deplorable, and ruinous condition. Idleness, dissipation, and extravagance, seemed to have engrossed the attention of the generality of the American sons of liberty; and self interest, speculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches appeared to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men. Party disputes and personal quarrels were too much the general object, while the momentous concerns of the empire, a vast accumulated debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which naturally brings on the want of every thing, were but secondary considerations, and postponed by congress from time to time, as if their affairs were in the most flourishing situation. The paper cur-

rency in Philadelphia was daily sinking, and at length even so low as fifty per cent, yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or supper, which cost two or three hundred pounds, did not only take men off from acting, but even from thinking of what ought to have been nearest their hearts. Some of the most disinterested and patriotic Americans felt more distress from this review of things, than they had done at any other time, from the disappointments and losses in the course of the war.

In the mean time, Mons. Gerard, the French ambassador, manifested a desire, that the war might not be prolonged by too high and unreasonable demands, and that the United States would reduce their ultimatum as low as possible. He strongly recommended moderation, as the fate of war was uncertain; and he hinted, that a decisive naval engagement in favor of the British, might give a great turn to their affairs.

The South Carolina delegates, rather with a view to conquest, than from any special apprehension of danger to their own or neighboring states, from the troops under general Clinton, requested the congress to appoint general Lincoln, on whose character they justly reposed great confidence, to the

command of all the forces to the southward. Accordingly they made the appointment on the 25th of September, and ordered him immediately to repair to Charleston.

On the 2d of March, the American officer of the day, at the post at Briar-creek, in Georgia, reported, that reconnoitring parties of the enemy's horse and foot had been seen within their piquet the night preceding. Gen. Ashe, who had crossed the Savannah, with about 1200 troops, besides, 200 light horse, returned on the evening of the same day to his camp. He made no preparations to impede the march of the British, and, soon after their appearance, he and his troops fled with precipitation, without firing a gun.

In the month of May, Sir Henry Clinton dispatched Sir George Collier and general Matthews, with about two thousand soldiers and 500 marines, to make a descent upon Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth in that province, and upon their arrival landed their troops and took immediate possession of the town, which was defenceless. The remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. On the approach of the fleet and army, the Americans burnt

some of their vessels, several however fell into the hands of the British. The guards were pushed forward eighteen miles by night to Suffolk, where they arrived by day-light and proceeded to destroy a magazine of provisions, together with the vessels and naval stores found there. A similar destruction was carried on at other places in that quarter, nor were the frigates and armed vessels less active or successful in their service.

Within the fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coast, the loss of the Americans was prodigious. Above 130 vessels of all sorts, including some privateers, and ships of force, were destroyed or taken by them; seventeen prizes were brought away, besides three thousand hogheads of tobacco, which fell into their possession at Portsmouth. Except the house of a widow and the church, they burnt every house in Suffolk, and all the principal houses of gentlemen in their route shared the same fate.

On the 30th of May, these troops were joined to others going up the North river to attack the posts of Stoney point and Verplank, where the Americans had begun to construct strong works, for keeping the lower communication open be-

tween the eastern and southern states.—General Vaughan landed with the greater part on the east side, while the remainder, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, advanced further up, landed on the west side, and took possession of Stoney Point without opposition. Directly opposite, the Americans had completely finished a strong fort, which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garrison of about seventy men. But it was commanded by Stoney Point; to the summit of which cannon and mortars were dragged up during the night. By five in the morning, a battery was opened, which poured a storm of fire on the fort, while Vaughan with his division made a long circuit by the sides of the hills, arrived and closely invested it by land. The garrison, finding themselves totally overpowered, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. By the loss of these posts the Jersey people were obliged to make a circuit of about ninety miles under the mountains, to communicate with the states east of Hudson's river.

After the French had taken Grenada, and d'Estaing was lying with his fleet at Cape Francois, he received letters from governor Rutledge, general Lincoln, the French consul at Charleston, and others, urging him to visit the American coast, and

proposing an attack upon Savannah. The general engaged to join him with a thousand men certain, and promised that every exertion should be made to increase the number. The application coincided with the king's instructions, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, whenever an occasion presented itself, he sailed for the American continent within a few days after it was received.

On the 1st of September, count d'Estaing arrived with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. The appearance of the French fleet on the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia was so unexpected by the British that the Experiment man of war, of fifty guns, Sir James Wallace commander, and three frigates were captured. No sooner was it known at Charleston, that the count was on the coast, than Lincoln marched with all expedition for Savannah, with the troops under his command; and orders were also given for the South Carolina and Georgia militia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence.

The French and Americans after having spent some time in making regular approaches, at last

determined to take the place by storm. Accordingly the morning of the 9th of October was fixed for the attack, and neither the French nor the Americans had the least doubt of success.

Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack a little before day-light on the Spring hill battery, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the Charleston militia, headed by count d'Estaing and general Lincoln.— They marched up to the lines with great boldness; but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys threw the front of the column into confusion. Two standards however, one an American, were planted on the British redoubts. Count Pulaski at the head of 200 horsemen, was in full gallop, riding into town between the redoubts, with an intent of charging in the rear, when he received a mortal wound. A general retreat of the assailants took place, after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. D'Estaing received two slight wounds; 637 of his troops, and 234 of the continentals were killed or wounded. Of the 350 Charleston militia, who were in the hottest of the fire, only six were wounded, and a captain killed. Gen. Prevost and major Moncrief deservedly acquired great

reputation by their successful defence. There were not ten guns mounted on the lines when the enemy first appeared, and in a few days the number exceeded eighty. The garrison was between two and three thousand, including 150 militia.—The damage it sustained was trifling as the men fired under cover and few of the assailants fired at all.

Let us now see what the northern army was doing. In the middle of December, a part of general Washington's army was without bread; and for the rest he had not, either on the spot or within reach, a supply sufficient for four days. Both officers and men were almost perishing through want for a fortnight. The deficiency proceeded from the absolute emptiness of the American magazines in every place, and the total want of money and credit to replenish them. So that the general was obliged to call upon the magistrates of the Jersey state, to express his situation to them, and to declare in plain terms, that he and his army were reduced to the alternative of disbanding or catering for themselves, unless the inhabitants would afford them aid. He allotted to each county a certain proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of cattle to be delivered on certain days.—To the

honor of the magistrates, and the good dispositions of the people, be it added, that these requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many countries exceeded.

But to return to the southern armies. On the 20th of March, 1780, admiral Arbuthnot, with a small fleet crossed the bar, in front of rebellion road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American fleet retreated to Charleston, and the crews and guns of all the vessels, except the *Ranger*, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries. Before the Americans had taken this step, they should have considered, whether the ships were able to defend the bar, and should have sent them off, when they found it impracticable.

On the 12th of April, the British opened their batteries against Charleston, and a constant fire was kept up between both parties until the 20th. On the 18th of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York; and on the 12th of May, general Lincoln, after having made the most vigorous defence he was capable of, was obliged to capitulate. It was stipulated that the continental troops and sailors should remain prisoners of war until exchanged, and be provided with good and wholesome provisions, in

such quantities as were served out to the British troops. The militia were to return home as prisoners on parole, which as long as they observed, was to secure them from being molested in their property by the British troops. The officers of the army and navy were to keep their swords, pistols and baggage, which last was not to be searched; but their horses were not to go out of town, but might be disposed of by a person left for the purpose. The garrison, at an hour appointed, was to march out of the town to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they were to deposit their arms. The drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colors to be uncased. All civil officers and citizens, who had borne arms during the siege, were to be prisoners on parole; and with respect to their property in the city, they were to have the same terms as the militia; and all other persons in the town, not described in any article, were notwithstanding to be prisoners upon parole.

The capital having surrendered, the next object of the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. With this view they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched a large body of troops over the Santee,

towards the extremity of the state, which borders on the most populous parts of North Carolina. — This occasioned the retreat of some American parties, who had advanced into the upper part of South Carolina, in expectation of relieving Charleston. Among the corps which had come forward with that view, there was one consisting of about 300 continentals, the rear of the Virginia line, commanded by colonel Buford. Tarleton with about 700 horse and foot, was sent in quest of this party. Having mounted his infantry, he marched 105 miles in fifteen hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender on terms similar to those granted to the continentals at Charleston. While the flags were passing and repassing on this business, Tarleton kept his men in motion, and when the truce was ended had nearly surrounded his adversaries. An action instantly ensued, when the continental party having partaken of the general consternation occasioned by the British successes, made but a feeble resistance, and begged for quarters. A few however continued to fire. The British cavalry advanced, but were not opposed by the main body of the continentals, who conceived themselves precluded by their submission. The accidental firing of the few was an argument,

however for directing the British legion to charge those who had laid down their arms. In consequence of this order, the unresisting Americans, praying for quarters, were cut in pieces. By Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, 113 were killed, 50 badly wounded, unable to travel, and left on parole, and 53 made prisoners, while they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill seven and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton the highest encomiums for this enterprize, and recommended him in a special manner to royal favor and patronage.

The expected succors at length arrived from France, on the evening of the 10th of July, at Rhode-Island. The Chevalier de Ternay commanded the fleet, which consisted of two ships of eighty guns, one of 74, four of 64, a bomb vessel, and 32 transports. The land forces consisted of four old regiments besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting to about 6000 men under the command of Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau.

About the time that Charleston surrendered, Sir H. Clinton received intelligence that a large num-

ber of forces and a French fleet commanded by Mons. Ternay, might soon be expected on the American coast. This induced him to re-embark for New-York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with about 4000 men, which were deemed fully sufficient for his purposes.

On the 4th of September was signed the plan of a treaty of commerce between the states of Holland and the United States of America. Mons. de Neufville, being properly authorised by the regency of Amsterdam, engaged, that as long as America should not act contrary to the interest of the states of Holland, the city of Amsterdam would never adopt any measure that might tend to oppose the interests of America; but would on the contrary, use all its influence upon the states of the seven United provinces of Holland, to effect the desired connexion. This business was conducted by Mr. John Adams on the part of America.

Lord Cornwallis went on successfully in South Carolina. On the 16th of August he engaged the forces under general Gates, and completely routed them after a long and obstinate contest. General Gates was borne off the field by a torrent of dismayed militia. They constituted so great a part of his army, that when he saw them break and run

with such precipitation, he lost every hope of victory; and his only care was, if possible, to rally a sufficient number to cover the retreat of the other troops. He retired with general Caswell to Clermont, in hope of halting them in their late encampment; but the further they fled, the more they dispersed, and the generals giving up all as lost, retired with a few attendants to Charlotte.

The Americans lost eight field pieces, the whole of their artillery, with all their ammunition waggon, besides 150 others, and a considerable quantity of military stores, and the greatest part of their baggage. The numbers slain cannot be precisely ascertained, no returns of the militia being made after the action; but it is supposed, that the Americans lost about 700 on this occasion. Though Cornwallis' victory was complete, yet from the account the British gave of the action, it may be inferred, that it was dearly bought, upwards of 500 of their own troops being killed or wounded.

A minute representation of the retreat of the Americans from Charlotte to Salisbury, would be the image of complicated wretchedness. Care, anxiety, pain, humiliation and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the shocking scene. Painful objects presented them-

selves to view, several men without an arm some with but one, and many standing in need of the most kind and powerful assistance.

Lord Cornwallis, notwithstanding his victory, was restrained for some time from pursuing his conquests, by the loss he had sustained in the battle, the extreme heat of the weather, sickness of the season, and the want of necessary supplies; he therefore remained at Camden.

In the month of September, a discovery of the utmost importance was made, which was a scheme for delivering West Point into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. General Arnold who had the command of that post, was brave but mercenary, fond of parade, and extremely desirous of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. When he entered Philadelphia after the evacuation, he made governor Penn's house, the best in the city, his head-quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived in a style far beyond his income. He continued his extravagant course of living, was unsuccessful in trade and privateering, his funds were exhausted, and his creditors importunate, while his lust for high life was not in the least abated. He had exhibited heavy accounts and demands against the public; and the commis-

sioners, upon examination, rejected about one half of the amount. He appealed to congress and a committee was appointed, who were of opinion, that the commissioners had allowed more than the general had a right to expect or demand. This provoked him to outrageous expressions and proceedings. Disgusted at the treatment he had met with, embarrassed in his circumstances, and having a growing expensive family, he turned his thoughts towards bettering his circumstances by new means. In 1779, a correspondence commenced between general Arnold and major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, a rising young officer of great hope and merit.

For the speedy completion of the negotiation that was carrying on between major Andre and general Arnold, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed in the North river, at such a distance from the American posts, as, without exciting suspicion, would serve for the necessary communication. Before this, a written correspondence through other channels had been maintained between Arnold and Andre, at New-York, under the names of Gustavus and Anderson.

On the 21st of September, the necessary arrangements being made, a boat was sent at night from

the shore to the Vulture, to fetch major Andre, which brought him to the beach without the posts of either army, where he met Arnold. The major continued with him during the day following, and at night, the boatman refusing to conduct him back to the Vulture, which had shifted her position, as she lay exposed to the fire of a cannon sent to annoy her, he was obliged to concert his escape by land. He quitted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under his furtout, for a common coat. He was furnished with a horse, and, under the name of John Anderson, with a passport from Arnold to go through the lines at White Plains or lower if he thought proper, on public business.

He pursued his journey alone towards York, passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was much elated. The next day he travelled without any alarm, and began to consider himself out of danger; but unhappily for him, three of the New-York militia were with others on a scouting party between the out posts of the two armies. One of them sprung from his covert and seized Andre's horse by the bridle. The major instead of instantly producing his pass, asked the man where he belonged, who answered,

“to below.” Andre suspecting no deceit, said “so do I.” Then declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained, for that he was upon urgent business. Upon the other two coming up, and joining their comrade he discovered his mistake. The confusion that followed was apparent, and they proceeded to search him till they found his papers. He offered the captors a considerable purse of gold, and a very valuable watch, to let him pass; but they nobly disdained the temptation, besides the fascinating offers of permanent provision, and even of future promotion, on condition of their conveying and accompanying him to New-York. They conducted him to lieutenant-colonel Jameson, the continental officer who had the command of the scouting parties, amounting to 800 men, chiefly militia.—Arnold’s conduct with regard to this body of men, and in other respects, had excited such suspicions in the breast of the lieutenant-colonel, and the rest of the officers, that they had determined upon seizing the general at all events, had he come down and ordered them nearer the enemy. Jameson, notwithstanding his strong jealousy of Arnold, was in the issue the means of his escape.

Major Andre in order to give Arnold time to escape, requested that a line might be sent to acquaint him of the detention of Anderson, the name Andre had assumed which Jameson, through an ill-judged delicacy, granted. The papers which were found in the major's boots, were in Arnold's hand writing, and contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance and defences at West Point and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and the copy of a state of matters that had been laid before a council of war by the commander in chief. These papers were enclosed in a packet to Gen. Washington, accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, relating the manner of his capture, and endeavoring to show, that he did not come under the description of a spy.—These papers were forwarded by Jameson.

No sooner had Arnold received the major's letter, than he hastened on board the Vulture, which lay some miles below Stony Point; he had not been long gone, when Washington arrived at his quarters from the eastward. Had the plot succeed-

ed, the consequences must have been ruinous to the Americans. The forces under Arnold's command must have either laid down their arms, or have been cut to pieces. Their loss, and the immediate possession of West Point, and all its neighboring dependencies, must have exposed the remainder of Washington's army to the joint exertion of the British forces, by land and water, and nothing but ruin could have been the result with respect to the Americans.

On the 29th of September, general Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers, with the assistance of the judge advocate general, to examine major Andre's case, and to determine in what light it ought to be considered. Andre, disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, and studying only to place his character in so fair a light, as might prevent its being shaded by present circumstances, voluntarily confessed more than he was asked and sought not to palliate any thing relating to himself, while he concealed, with the most guarded and scrupulous nicety, whatever might involve others. The board shewed him every possible mark of indulgence, and sufficiently witnessed how much they felt for his situation. However public justice obliged them to declare, "that major

Andre ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy ; and that agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Several letters passed between the generals Clinton and Washington relative to this unhappy affair ; but nothing was capable of saving the unfortunate major. On the 2d of October, the tragedy was closed. The major was superior to the terrors of death ; but the disgraceful mode of dying, which the usage of war had annexed to his unhappy situation, was infinitely dreadful to him. He was desirous of being indulged with a professional death, and had accordingly written, the day before, a pathetic letter, fraught with all the feelings of a man of sentiment and honor, in which he requested of general Washington, that he might not die on a gibbet. The general consulted his officers on the subject. Pity and esteem wrought so powerfully that they were all for shooting him, till Greene insisted on it, that his crime was that of a common spy ; that the public good required his being hanged ; and that, were he shot, the generality would think there were favorable circumstances entitling him to notice and lenity. His observations convinced them that there would be an im-

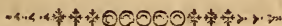
propriety in granting the major's request, while tenderness prevented its being divulged.

When Major Andre was led out to the place of execution, as he went along he bowed himself familiarly to all those with whom he had been acquainted in his confinement. A smile of complacency expressed the serene fortitude of his mind. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with emotion, "Must I die in this manner?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, "I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode."—Soon after, recollecting himself, he added, "it will be but a momentary pang;" and springing upon the cart, he performed the last offices to himself with a composure that excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators. Being told the final moment was at hand, and asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, "Nothing but to request you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man." He died universally esteemed and regretted.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

The British operations against Georgia,	A. D. 1778
The affairs of the United States in a deplorable condition,	- - - - do.

Gen. Lincoln sent to South Carolina, A. D. 1778
 Gen. Ashe surprised and defeated, A. D. 1779
 Sir Henry Clinton takes Stony Point, - do.
 Count d'Estaing sails from the West Indies
 for the American coast, - - - do.
 The French and Americans repulsed at Sa-
 vannah, - - - do.
 Washington's army in distress for want of
 bread, - - - do.
 Charleston taken by the British forces, - do.
 Tarleton defeats colonel Buford, A. D. 1780
 A French fleet with troops arrive at New-
 port, - - - do.
 Treaty signed between Holland and Amer-
 ica, - - - do.
 Earl Cornwallis defeats general Gates, - do.
 Major Andre taken and executed as a spy, do.
 Gen. Arnold makes his escape on board the
 Vulture British sloop of war, - - do.



CHAPTER IX.

SIR Henry Clinton, on the 15th of October, 1780, in obedience to the orders sent him to prof-

ecute the war with vigor in North Carolina and Virginia, dispatched general Leslie from N. York to the bay of Chesapeake, with near 3000 choice troops. He was to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, who was expected to be far advanced towards, if not to have reached, Virginia. In a few days, the fleet arrived in the bay, and the troops were landed in different parts of Virginia.

On the 20th of June, the French and Spanish fleets formed a junction in the West Indies. They amounted to 36 sail of the line, which with their united land forces, formed such an apparent superiority, as nothing in those seas or islands seemed capable of resisting ; but the Spanish troops being too much crowded on board their transports, together with the length of the voyage, the change of climate and diet, and other circumstances, a most mortal and contagious disorder was generated, which first infected their own seamen, and at length spread, though not with so fatal an effect through the French fleet and land forces. Besides the great mortality on the passage, the Spaniards landed 1200 sick on their first arrival at Dominique, and a much greater number afterwards at Guadaloupe and Martinico. Thus the spirit of en-

terprize was damped, and some part of their strength diminished.

In the month of September, Mr. Laurens, was taken on his way from America to Holland, on the banks of Newfoundland. A packet of papers being thrown overboard, and not sinking suddenly was saved by the boldness and dexterity of an English sailor, and most of them were recovered from the effects of the water. On his arrival in England, he was committed, upon a charge of high treason as a state prisoner in the Tower, under an order signed by the three secretaries of state. By the medium of his papers, administration came to the knowledge of the eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland.

In consequence of this discovery, strong remonstrances were made to the States general; but as no satisfactory answer was returned, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and, on the 20th of December, general reprisals were issued against the ships, goods, and subjects, of the States General.

On the 12th of January, 1781, General Greene's troops consisted of about 1100. The next day, colonel Lee's partizan legion arrived from the

northward, consisting of about 100 horsemen, well mounted, and 120 infantry; and on the 18th the legion was detached on a secret expedition. They pushed on for Georgetown, where they surprised several officers, and took them prisoners. Major Irvin, and many more of the garrison were killed; but the principal part fled to the fort, which Lee was not in a condition to besiege. While this enterprise was carrying on, the enemy aimed a blow at Morgan, who was advised by Greene not to risque too much.

General Leslie, in compliance with his orders left Virginia, and arrived at Charleston, and joined lord Cornwallis who wished to drive general Morgan from his station and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. The execution of this business was entrusted to lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who was detached with about 1100 men for that purpose. On the 17th of January, Tarleton came up with Morgan, when an action commenced, which terminated in the almost total defeat of Tarleton.

Tarleton was very much censured for his conduct in this battle, which he was supposed to have lost by his un-officer-like impetuosity. Lord Cornwallis, with the expectations of regaining the prisoners, and demolishing Morgan's corps, instant-

ly concluded on a pursuit, which Morgan was aware of, and took his measures accordingly.

On the 31st of January, Greene succeeded Morgan in the command of the Southern army, when a kind of military race began between the pursuing British and the fleeing Americans; but Greene got off before Cornwallis could overtake him.

Lord Cornwallis, being afterwards convinced from Greene's movements, that he intended to venture an engagement, on the 14th of May sent off his baggage under a proper escort, and the next morning at day-break, marched with the remainder of his army, amounting to about 2400 men, chiefly troops grown veteran in victory, either to meet Greene on the way, or attack him in his encampment.

The battle took place near Guilford court-house; and after a hard struggle of near two hours, the Americans retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork, and crossed the river, about three miles from the field of action. Greene lost his artillery, and two ammunition waggons, the greatest part of the horses being killed before the retreat began.

In the month of February, reprisals having been commenced against the Dutch, Rodney and

Vaughan received instructions from Great-Britain to direct their views to the reduction of the Dutch island of St. Eustatia. The British fleet and army appeared there, and surrounded it with a great force. Rodney and Vaughan sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour, accompanied with a threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide the consequences. Mons. de Graaff, totally ignorant of the rupture between Great-Britain and Holland, could scarcely believe the officer who delivered the summons, to be serious.— He returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence, he must of necessity surrender, only recommending the town and inhabitants to the clemency of the British commanders. The wealth of the place excited the astonishment of the conquerors, the whole island seemed to be one great magazine. All the store-houses were filled with various commodities, and the very beach was covered with hogheads of sugar and tobacco. The value was estimated considerably above three millions sterling. But this was only a part; for above 150 vessels of all denominations, many of them richly laden, were captured in the bay, exclusive of a Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five smaller.

The neighboring small isles of St. Martin and Seba were reduced in the same manner.

Rodney being informed, that a fleet of about 30 large ships, all richly laden, with sugar and other West-India commodities, had sailed from Eustatia for Holland just before his arrival, under a convoy of a flag ship of 60 guns, he dispatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybel frigate in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy, when the Dutch admiral refusing to strike his colors, and all remonstrances proving ineffectual, a short engagement took place, between his ship, the Mars and the Monarch. He died in defence of his ship, when she instantly struck, and the whole convoy was taken.

The keeping of Dutch colors flying at Eustatia, rendered it for some time a decoy to French, Dutch and American vessels, a considerable number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors without trouble.

Preparations began to be made, on the 21st of June, for the army under General Washington to take the field. The Americans marched towards White Plains, where they were joined by the French troops under Rochambeau.

Sir George Rodney, in consequence of information concerning the French fleet under the count de Grasse, detached the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with seventeen sail of the line, to cruise off Fort Royal for the purpose of intercepting him. On the 28th of April, some of Sir Samuel's headmost ships returned hastily in sight, and with signals announced the appearance of a superior fleet, and a numerous convoy, to the windward of Point Salines. The admiral made a signal for a general chase to windward, and at night it was determined by the admirals to continue the line ahead, so that getting as much as possible to windward, they might close in with Fort Royal at day light, and cut off the enemy from the harbor.

In the morning the French appeared; their convoy keeping close in with the land, while count de Grasse drew up his fleet in a line of battle for their protection. Admiral Hood used every manoeuvre to bring him to action; but he being to windward, and so having the choice, preferred a long shot distance. A partial engagement ensued. The van and the nearest ships in the centre of the British were exposed to a long and heavy weight of fire, in their struggles to close the French, and get to the windward; but suffered principally in their

masts, hulls and rigging. The action lasted about three hours, when admiral Hood perceiving, that not one shot in ten of the French reached, and that his attempts to gain the wind were fruitless, ceased firing, and the British fleet bore away for Antigua.

Let us now return to the transactions under Lord Cornwallis. One great object of the British force was the establishment of a strong post and place of arms, and such as might render them perfectly masters of Chesapeake bay, and therefore they repaired to York Town and Gloucester.

The French and American armies continued their march from the northward, till they arrived at the head of Elk; and within an hour after they received an express from Count de Grasse, with the joyful account of his arrival and situation. By the 15th of September, all the troops were arrived and landed at Williamsburgh, and preparations were made with all possible dispatch for putting the army in a situation to move down towards York Town.

On the 30th of September, Lord Cornwallis was closely invested in York Town. The trenches were opened by the combined armies on the 6th of

October, at 60 yards distance from Cornwallis' works. On the 9th they opened their batteries, and continued firing all night, without intermission.— The next morning the French opened their batteries on the left, and a tremendous roar of cannon and mortars was continued for six or eight hours without ceasing.

The French and Americans continued to carry on the siege with great success.

On the 16th their several batteries were covered with near 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; while the British works were so destroyed that they could scarcely show a single gun. Thus was Lord Cornwallis reduced to the necessity of preparing for a surrender, or of attempting an escape. He determined upon the latter. Boats were prepared under different pretences, for the reception of the troops by ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy. The intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded, his lordship having already prepared a letter on the subject, to be delivered to general Washington after his departure. The first

embarkation had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when the weather, which was before moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats with the remaining troops were all driven down the river, and the design of passing over was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester.— Thus weakened and divided, the army was in no small danger. However, the boats returned, and the troops were brought back in the course of the forenoon with very little loss.

Things were now hastening to a period, which could be no longer protracted; for the British works were sinking under the weight of the French and American artillery. All hopes of relief from New-York were over, and the strength and spirits of the royal army were broken down and exhausted by their constant and unremitting fatigue.— Matters being in this situation, on the 17th of October, Lord Cornwallis sent out a flag with a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed for digesting the terms of capitulation. Commissioners were accordingly ap-

pointed ; and on the side of the allies, were Viscount de Noailles, and lieutenant-colonel Laurens, whose father was in close confinement in the Tower of London, while the son was drawing up articles by which an English nobleman and a British army became prisoners.

On the 19th of October, the posts of York Town and Gloucester were surrendered. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been denied to general Lincoln, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis, and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York Town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. The troops that surrendered prisoners exceeded 7000 ; but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of doing duty. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects. Fifteen hundred seamen shared the same fate as the garrison. The *Guadaloupe* frigate of 44 guns, and a number of transports, were surrendered to the conquerors.— About 20 transports had been sunk or burnt during the siege. The land forces became prisoners to the Americans ; but the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admiral. The Americans ob-

tained a fine train of artillery, consisting of 75 pieces of brass ordnance, and 69 iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars.

On the 24th of October, a fleet destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis arrived off the Chesapeake; but, on receiving the news of his surrender, they returned to New-York. The fleet consisted of 25 ships of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates.—When they appeared off the Chesapeake, the French made no manner of movement, though they had 36 ships of the line, being perhaps satisfied with their present success. Every argument and persuasion was used with the count de Grasse to induce him to aid the combined army in an operation against Charleston; but the advanced season, the orders of his court, and his own engagements to be punctual to a certain time, fixed for his future operation, prevented his compliance. His instructions had fixed his departure on the 15th of October, and he had already exceeded that time. On the 27th the troops under the Marquis St. Simon began to embark for the West-Indies, and about the 15th of November de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeake.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- Sir Henry Clinton sends 3000 troops to the
 bay of Chesapeake, - - - A. D. 1780.
 The French and Spanish fleets form a junction
 in the West Indies, - - - do.
 Mr. Laurens taken in his passage to Holland,
 - - - - - do.
 Sir Joseph Yorke leaves the Hague, - do.
 Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton detached after
 general Morgan by whom he is defeated,
 - - - - - A. D. 1781.
 Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan
 take St. Eustatia, St. Martins and Seba, do.
 The French troops join the Americans under
 Washington, - - - do.
 Sir Samuel Hood and count de Grasse engage,
 - - - - - do.
 Lord Cornwallis repairs to York Town and
 Gloucester, - - - do.
 Is obliged to capitulate, and surrender York
 Town and Gloucester, - - - do.
 De Grasse sails for the West Indies, - do.

CHAPTER X.

ON the 27th of November, the king of England went to the house of peers, and opened the sessions of parliament. Warm debates took place on account of the ruinous manner in which the American war was continued; but Lord North and his party, who thought they had not yet carried things far enough, maintained a considerable majority in the house of commons. Mr. Burke had made several motions relative to the release of Mr. Laurens from the tower. However, at length, Mr. Laurens was brought before Lord Mansfield, on the last day of the year, in consequence of an order from the secretary of state, and was discharged upon certain conditions.

The naval force of France and Spain in the West-Indies, in the month of February, 1782, amounted to 60 ships of the line, and their land forces when joined would have formed a considerable army. Jamaica had no more than six incomplete battalions of regular troops and the militia of the island to defend it; and therefore in case of attack, must have been soon conquered. The arrival of

sir George Rodney with twelve sail of the line at Barbadoes, and his subsequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's Squadron, together with the arrival of three ships of the line from England a few days afterwards, perhaps providentially saved Jamaica from falling into the hands of the enemy. The English fleet at St. Lucia amounting to 36 ships of the line, and the force under de Grasse at Martinico to 34. The metal of the French is always heavier than that of the English, in equal rates, so that in this point the French had the advantage.

The van of the British fleet was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by sir George Rodney, and the rear by admiral sir Francis Drake.—The three divisions of the French fleet were under count de Grasse, Mons. de Vaudreuil, and Mons. de Bougainville.

On the 8th of April, the French fleet began to turn out of Fort Royal harbor early in the morning, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to the French or Spanish ports in Hispaniola. De Grasse, in order to avoid an encounter on his passage, meant to keep close in under the islands, till he had eluded the pursuit of the English. However their departure from the bay was so speedily communicated by signals from the frigates, and

the English fleet was in such excellent preparation, that all the ships were clear of Gros Islet Bay by noon, and pursued with the utmost expedition; so that the French saved only a few hours, by being masters of the time of departure. The English gained sight of them under Dominique at night, and afterwards regulated the pursuit by signals.

Early the next morning, count de Grasse formed the line of battle, and thereby afforded an opportunity to his convoy for proceeding on their course, while he remained to abide the consequences.—The van of the English fleet first closed with the French centre, while the English centre and rear were becalmed. The action commenced about nine o'clock on the ninth. The *Barfleur*, Sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at times seven and generally three ships firing upon her, and none of the division escaped encountering a disproportionate force. The firm and effectual resistance with which they supported all the efforts of the enemy's superiority, was to the highest degree glorious.—At length the leading ships of the centre were enabled to come up to their assistance. These were soon followed by sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his seconds the *Namur* and the *Duke*, all of ninety guns; they made and support-

ed a most tremendous fire. De Grasse now changed the nature of the action, and kept at such a distance during the remainder of the engagement, as might prevent any thing decisive happening.— The rest of the English fleet coming up, de Grasse withdrew his ships from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the English commanders for its renewal. Two of the French ships, were so damaged that they were obliged to quit the fleet, and put into Guadaloupe. On the side of the English the Royal Oak and the Montague suffered extremely; but they were capable of being repaired at sea, so as not to be under the necessity of quitting the fleet.

On the 11th the French fleet weathered Guadaloupe, and gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the masts-heads of the British centre, and all hopes of sir George Rodney's coming up with them seemed to be at an end. In this critical situation, one of the French ships, which had suffered in the action, was perceived about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of the fleet to leeward. This produced signals from the English admiral for a general chase, which was so vigorous that the Agamemnon, and some others of the headmost of the

English line, were coming up so fast with this ship that she would assuredly have been cut off before evening had not her signals and imminent danger induced de Grasse to bear down with his whole fleet to her assistance. This movement put it out of the power of the French to avoid fighting. The pursuing English fell back into their station, and a close line was formed. The French also prepared for battle with the greatest resolution, and the night passed in preparations on both sides.

About seven o'clock in the morning, of the 12th of April, the battle commenced, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. As the English came up, they ranged slowly along the French line, and close under their lee. Being so near every shot took effect, and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. The Formidable, Admiral Rodney's ship, fired near 80 broadsides, and it may be supposed the rest were not idle. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost firmness, each side fighting, as if the honor and fate of their country were that day to be decided.

Sir George Rodney in the Formidable with his seconds the *Namur* and the *Duke*, and immediate-

ly supported by the *Canada*, between twelve and one o'clock, hove directly and with full sail athwart the French line and successfully broke thro', about three ships short of the centre, where count de Grasse commanded in the *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns. Being followed and supported by the remainder of his division, and wearing round close about the enemy, he effectually separated their line. This bold adventure proved decisive. The battle lasted till sunset, for the French fought with the greatest bravery.

The British fleet having now gained the wind of the French, their general confusion was completed. Hood's division had been long becalmed and kept out of action; but his head ships and part of his centre, as far at least as the *Barfleur*, which he himself commanded, came up at this juncture, and contributed to render the victory more decisive. The *Cæsar*, *Glorieux* and *Hector*, soon struck their colors but not till after they had made the most noble defence.

Count de Grasse was nobly supported even after the line was broken; and the *Diadem*, a French 74, went down by a single broadside, in a generous exertion to save him. The *Ville de Paris*

was almost reduced to a wreck, but de Graffe still held out. At length Hood in the *Barfleur* approached him just at sunset, and poured in a most destructive fire. The *Ville de Paris* supported all these shocks for a quarter of an hour after, when she struck to Sir Samuel Hood. It was said, that at the time she struck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the count was one of them.

The *Caesar* was unfortunately set on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. A lieutenant and 50 English seamen perished, with about 400 prisoners. The number of the French slain in this engagement, and that of the ninth, was computed at three thousand and near double that number wounded. The small superiority of British ships in point of numbers, contributed nothing to the success of the day, as more of Hood's division than that difference amounted to, were prevented coming into action, through the want of wind. The whole loss of the English, in killed and wounded in the two actions, was stated only at 1050, of which 253 were killed on the spot.

In the *Ville de Paris* were found 36 chests of money, destined to pay the subsistence of the

troops in the designed attack on Jamaica. Sir Samuel Hood being sent in pursuit of the scattered enemy, on the 19th he came up and took the *Jason* and *Canton* of 64 guns each, and two frigates.

Thus the French lost eight ships of the line: six were in possession of the English, one had been sunk, and the *Caesar* blew up after her capture.— The English having joined off cape Tiberoon, and the French having no force to the windward, Sir George Rodney proceeded with the disabled ships and prizes to Jamaica, as well for their repair, as the greater security of the island, should the combined fleet still venture upon the prosecution of their former design. Sir Samuel Hood was left with about 25 ships of the line to keep the sea, and watch the motions of the enemy.

Let us now return to North America, where all parties seem to be heartily tired of the war. On the 5th of May, sir Guy Carleton arrived at New-York, and on the 7th he wrote to general Washington, and sent him some public papers, that his excellency might learn from them, the disposition that prevailed in the government and people of Great-Britain, relative to the making of a peace with America.

The British administration having resolved upon abandoning all offensive operations in America, the scheme of evacuating all the weakest posts in the United States was adopted. Accordingly, on the 11th of July, Savannah was evacuated, and the Americans immediately took possession of it, the works and town being left perfect.

On the 14th of December, general Leslie, who commanded at Charleston, completed the embarkation of his troops, and quitted that town. Gen. Wayne, with the legion and light infantry, had been before their works for several days, by order of general Greene. It was hinted to him from general Leslie, through a certain medium, that if they were permitted to embark without interruption, every care should be taken for the preservation of the town. Wayne was directed to accede to the proposal, the British also agreeing not to fire on the town after getting on board. The conditions being fully understood by both parties, Charleston, was evacuated and possessed without the least confusion, the American advance following close on the British rear. The governor was conducted into his capital the same day; the civil police established the day following, and on the

third the town was opened for business. On the 17th the British crossed the bar, and went to sea.

Every thing now seemed to announce the approach of peace. The American commissioners expedited the negotiation with the utmost assiduity, and on the 30th November, provisional articles were agreed upon and signed, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the court of France. The business was finished so privately and unexpectedly that the ministers and ambassadors, as well as others in and about the court of Versailles, were surprised upon hearing the news.

We must not here avoid mentioning an unfortunate event, which happened at the close of the still more unfortunate American war. Ten men of war, including count de Grasse's ships, with a large fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica, suffered exceedingly by a tremendous gale of wind off Newfoundland, on the 17th of September. The *Ville de Paris* and the *Glorieux* foundered, and only one man of the compliment of both ships escaped to tell the melancholy tale.—The *Hector* also sunk; but being descried in time by a snow that made towards them, the crew were saved.—

The Ramilies went down, but her people were saved by the merchantmen in company. The Centaur was likewise lost, and all her company, except twelve, with the captain, who got into the only remaining boat. They traversed a space of near 800 miles on the Atlantic ocean, without compass or quadrant, and with a blanket for a sail. They had only two biscuits divided among them every twenty-four hours; and as much water during that space to every man as the neck of a wine bottle broken off would hold. At the expiration of sixteen days when the last division of biscuit and water had been made, to their inexpressible joy, they discovered the Portuguese island of Fayal, where they safely arrived at night, and received every assistance their melancholy situation demanded.

On the 3d of September, 1783, the definitive treaties between Great-Britain, France and Spain, were signed at Versailles by the respective plenipotentiaries authorised for that purpose. On the same day, the definitive treaty with Great-Britain and the United States of America was also signed at Paris, by David Hartley, Esq. the British plenipotentiary, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, the plenipotentiaries of the said states.

By the articles of this treaty, his Britannic majesty acknowledged the independence of the Thirteen United States of America, towit, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. He also relinquished all claims to the government of the said States, and consented to treat with them as a free and independent people. Their boundaries were also settled, and they were allowed the liberty of fishing and drying fish as usual on the banks of Newfoundland.

The particulars of the treaty between Great-Britain, France and Spain, will be found in our history of England, to which it more properly belongs.

Thus ended the unhappy American war, which added to the national debt of the mother country, one hundred and twenty million pounds sterling, besides the loss of many thousands of our officers, soldiers and seamen, to the disgrace and infamy of those ministers, who advised and carried it on, contrary to the general voice of the people of Great-Britain !

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

Mr. Laurens discharged from his confinement in the Tower of London, A. D. 1781

The fleets of Sir George Rodney and Count de Grasse meet in the West-Indies, A. D. 1782

They engage, and Count de Grasse is defeated and taken, - - - do.

Savannah evacuated by the British forces, do.

And afterwards Charleston in South Carolina, - - - do.

Provisional articles of peace signed between the British and American commissioners, do.

The definitive treaties between Great-Britain, France, Spain and America signed, - - - A. D. 1783

APPENDIX.



CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, The People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION for the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ARTICLE I:

Section 1. ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Secl. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors

in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives, and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode-Is-

and and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New-York, six; New-Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year: and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any

state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and dis-

qualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

Sec. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior

iour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy: and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SecT. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any

civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States—if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be

entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The congress shall have power

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes ;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish post offices and post roads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards and other needful buildings ;

And, to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Seç. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law;— and a regular statement and account of receipts

and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince or foreign state.

Sec. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war

in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress ; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office, of trust or profit, under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for and of the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of

the senate ; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president ; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice president.— But if there shall remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice president. [See amendments.]

The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall

give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice president, and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation.

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will
“ faithfully execute the office of president of the
“ United States, and will to the best of my ability,
“ preserve, protect and defend the constitution of
“ the United States.”

Sec. 2. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein other-

wife provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Secl. 3. He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Secl. 4. The president, vice president, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Sec7. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec7. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects. [See amendments, Art. XI.]

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public

ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.—No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial

proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 3. New States may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new states shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress,

The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States: and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed, as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Sec7. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union, a republican form of government: and shall protect each of them against invasion—and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided that no amendment, which may be made prior to

the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof ; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

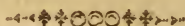
Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Go: WASHINGTON, *President,*
and Deputy from Virginia.

New-Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman. *Massachusetts*—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King. *Connecticut*—Wm. Sam'l. Johnson, Roger Sherman. *Delaware*—Geo. Read, Gunning Bedford, jun. John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom. *Maryland*—James M'Henry, Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer, Dan. Carroll. *New-York*—Alexander Hamilton. *New-Jersey*—Wm. Livingston, David Brearley, Wm. Paterson, Jona. Dayton. *Pennsylvania*—B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Rob. Morris, Geo. Clymer, Thos. Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouv. Morris. *Virginia*—John Blair, James Madison, jun. *North Carolina*—Wm. Blount, Rich'd Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Wil-

liamson. *South Carolina*—J. Rutledge, Charles Cotes. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler. *Georgia*—William Few, Abm. Baldwin.

Attest, WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*.



In Convention, Monday, Sept. 17, 1787.

Present—The States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton, from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

RESOLVED,

THAT the preceding constitution be laid before the United States in congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this constitution, the United

States in congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution.—That after such publication the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected : That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States in congress assembled ; that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned ; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for president ; and, that after he shall be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

By the unanimous order of the Convention,

Go: WASHINGTON, *President.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

..<<+*@@@*+>>..

In Convention, Sept. 17, 1787.

SIR,

WE have now the honor to submit to the con-

sideration of the United States in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable, in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all: individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation, extent, habits and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that had her interest alone been consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

Go: WASHINGTON, *President.*

By unanimous order of the Convention.

His Excellency the President of Congress.

CONSTITUTION OF
AMENDMENTS.



ARTICLE I.

CONGRESS shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and par-

ticularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war, or public danger : Nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be witness against himself ; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law : nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed ; which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor ; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved: and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required; nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration, in the constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others, retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

[*This article is substituted "in lieu of the third paragraph of the first section of the second article of the Constitution."*]

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves: they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president and all persons voted for as vice president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted: the person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the greatest number, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president;

but in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states; the representation from each state having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice; and if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice president shall be vice president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of the electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice; but no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice president of the United States.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.



In General Congress, Philadelphia, July 4, 1776.

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created equal : that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights : that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and

organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his government to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless sus-

pended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise ; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and

raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payments of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury :

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us.— We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice

of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war; in peace friends.

WE, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, DO in the name, and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, **FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES**; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great-Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

New-Hampshire—Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton. *Massachusetts-Bay*—Sam-

uel Adams, John Adams, Rob. T. Paine, Elbridge Gerry. *Rhode-Island*—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery. *Connecticut*—Roger Sherman, Saml. Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott. *New-York*—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris. *New-Jersey*—Rich. Stockton, J. Witherspoon, Fr. Hopkinson, J. Hart. Ab. Clark. *Pennsylvania*—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross. *Delaware*—Cæsar Rodney, George Read. *Maryland*—Sam. Chase, Wm. Pacca, Tho. Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. *Virginia*—Geo. Wythe, Rich. H. Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, junior, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton. *North Carolina*—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn. *South Carolina*—Edw. Rutledge, Th. Heyward, jun. Th. Lynch, jun. Ar. Middleton. *Georgia*—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS.



TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

THE period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the Executive Government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

W

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety: and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my service, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to

diffidence of myself ; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me ; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to our praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead—amidst appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced a spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection

may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only feel in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels. Nor can I forget as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real inde-

pendence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness : that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it ; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity ; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety ; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned ; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. . .

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and polit-

ical principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North* in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same intercourse benefitting by the agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand.—Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth

and comfort ; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations ; and what is of most inestimable value ! they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government ; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case, were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by *geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of these expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from those misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those, who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen in the

negociation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns.—This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completed free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing

within itself a provision for its amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support.—Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government. But, the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common council, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popu-

lar ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of our government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of government as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country, that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name where the government is too

feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with peculiar reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism: but this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able, or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party, are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms—kindles the animosity of one party against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.—From their natural tendency it is certain, there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume.

It is important likewise that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of the political power; by dividing and distributing it in different depositaries, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for tho' this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are in-

dispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who would labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them—a volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoid-

ing occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct: and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. — Who can doubt that in the course of

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither lending nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things: diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give our trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate, upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not

hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish, that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations :—But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the first subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having ta-

ken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will be best referred to your reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with

me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence ; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and progenitors for several generations ; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

Go : WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

FINIS.



Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: April 2010

Preservation Technologies
A WORLD LEADER IN COLLECTIONS PRESERVATION

111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 696 869 1

